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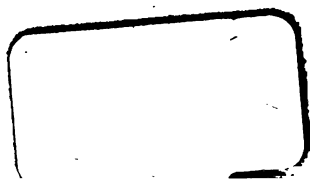
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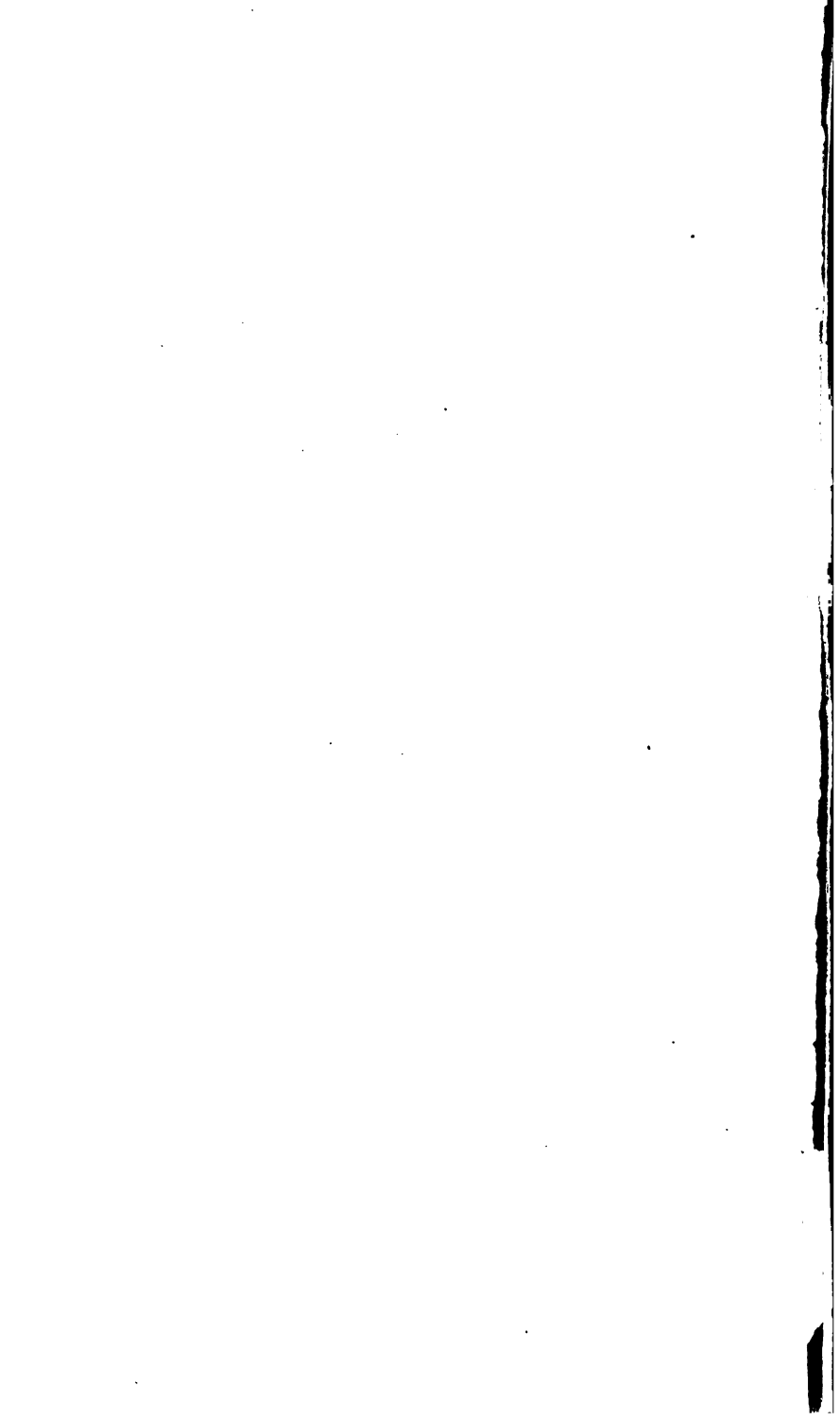
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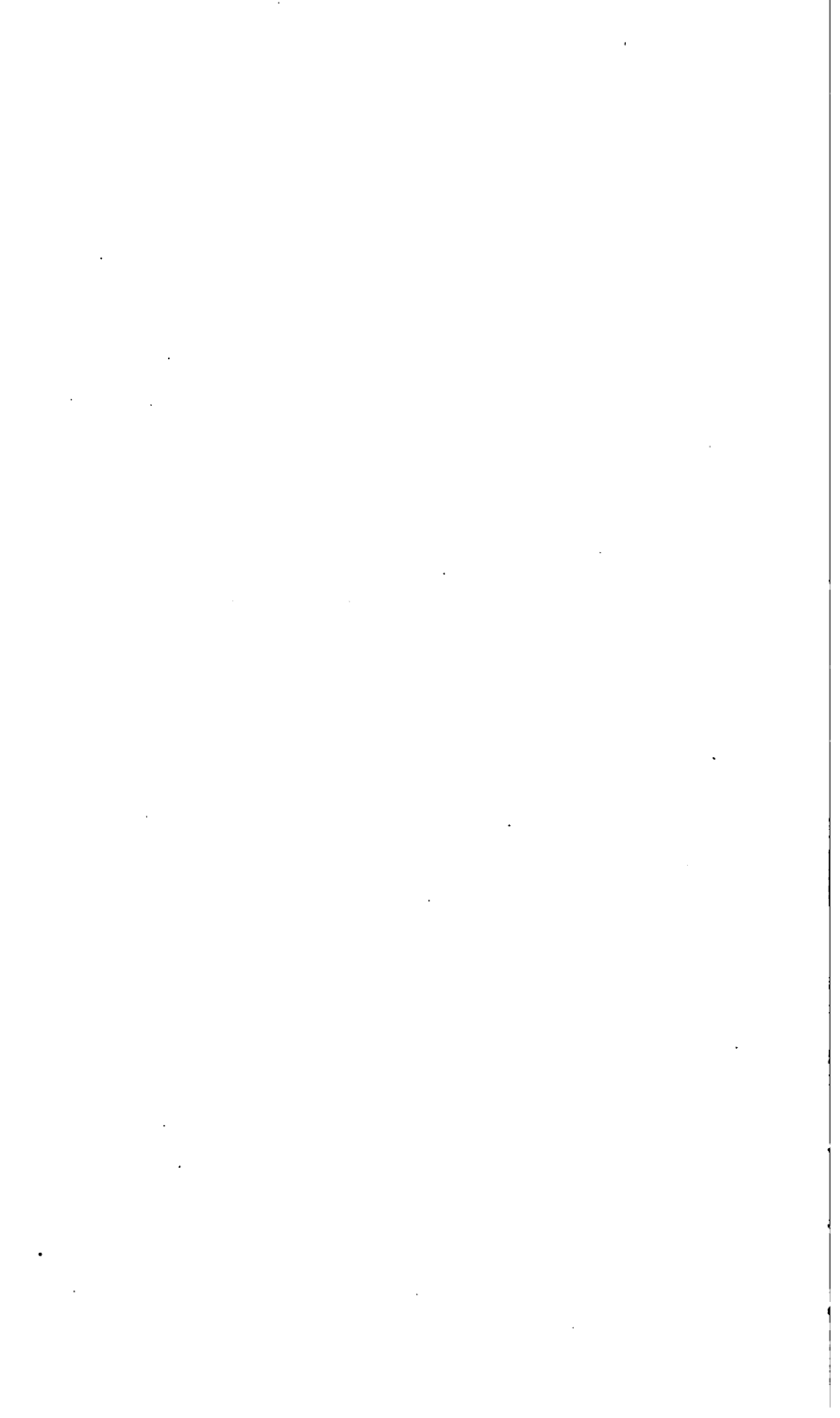
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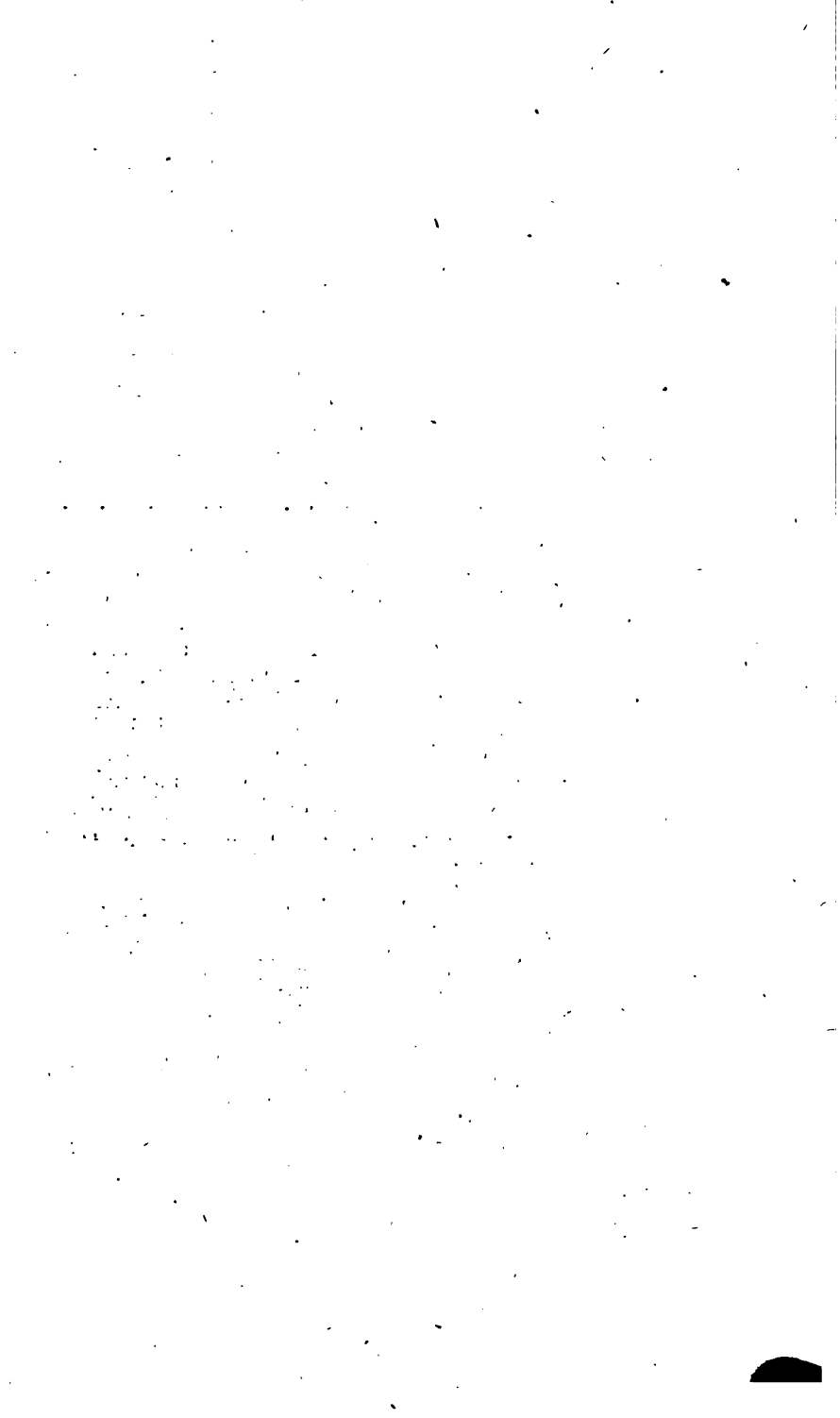


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H I S T O R Y
John Dunlop
O F T H E
Rebellion and Civil-War

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contemplation of a Character that is distinguished by the Public Love, this is known to those alone who have had the task, of addressing Men of eminent and acknowledged Merit: and to avoid a conflict so uneasy, between the desire of holding out an Example of Generosity, Politeness, and Public Spirit, to an age in which examples of such kind are rare, and the fear of offending by its being misinterpreted into Flattery, I could wish that I was speaking of the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND to any other Person than to Himself.

The time however of this Address, when Your Grace is not in Office, is a circumstance which will acquit me, I presume, in the eye of the World—ill-natured as it is—of all intentions of interest, or of having any other motives to the respect I pay Your Grace than those of Gratitude and Esteem. For to observe that a regard to Letters and the Public Good, inclined Your Grace very strongly to countenance my design of completing the Irish History, when the Administration of that kingdom was delegated to Your Grace, is only to acknowledge an Honour done to myself; which I hope will not give any offence: And had the wishes of the People of Ireland been gratified in the Continuance of Your Grace's Government, Your Grace had the interest of Literature and the Glory and Welfare of their Country too much at heart, to have suffered its General History to have been laid aside for want of your Grace's countenance:

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countenance : But with Your Grace's Administration fell the Design which I had entertained of continuing the History of Ireland down to the Revolution. What however, My LORD, I could attempt towards it Unassisted, I have attempted in the work with which I beg leave now to present Your Grace : and it happens not unluckily, that the part which I was able to execute without a Parliamentary Aid, is of all the Irish History the most critical and important to both kingdoms ; to every reader of history, and to every lover of his country and religion.

Your regard, My LORD, for the Irish nation did not cease with your relation to it. Your Grace was pleased to assure me very lately of your readiness to countenance any work that would do honour, or be of use, to Ireland : I have therefore presumed to avail myself of that inclination by soliciting Your Grace to be the Protector of this History : and great as the Advantage to it will be, indeed it could not with such propriety have had recourse to any other. Give me leave however, My LORD, to suppose, that to one whose public conduct hath always been avowedly on the side of Liberty, a work so favourable to that cause will not be disagreeable. But Liberty, Your Grace knows, must have its bounds ; and that Popular Error and Frenzy are as sure an enemy to the welfare of a State, as illegal despotic Rule. This is evidently demonstrated, as Your Grace may find, in the following pages : and this hath

DEDICATION.

added to my confidence in desiring Your Grace to accept the patronage of a Work, which is devoted to Liberty divested of Licentiousness, to Religion free from Bigotry, and to Truth void of Malice.

You have given, My Lord, every convincing proof that can be desired that You are the Friend and Lover of your Country : and it cannot admit of the least imputation of Insincerity to suggest, that the Disinterestedness and Integrity, which amidst the Discord of Parties have been on all sides allowed to characterise Your Grace, presage happily to your countrymen, that the High Honour to which his Majesty hath advanced Your Grace, will have no other effect than to give a further and a nobler opportunity to Your Grace to exert the same virtues in the public service.

Permit me then, My LORD, to hope, that the following History and the Reflections scattered thro' it, which have only the Good of your Country for their object, will merit your Approbation : and if Your Grace will be so obliging as to honour it with Your protection, the success of the work will be assured to,

My LORD DUKE,

Your Grace's

most obedient

most obliged

most devoted

humble Servant,

FERDINANDO WARNER.

P R E F A C E.

IN the preface to the History of Ireland already published, an account hath been given in what manner I was induced to undertake that work. Some reasons also were then offered, why the History of a Country which did not want materials; and which furnished so good a subject, from its situation, importance, and connexion with Great Britain, had been so long neglected, to the disgrace of Letters, and the reproach of both Nations. To these the Reader must be referred; as it would be very impertinent to repeat them. But having undertaken to write a General History of Ireland, from the earliest records of time to the settlement of it by King WILLIAM, and the volume already published containing only the ancient history to the English Conquest, it is incumbent on me to justify to the Reader the Discontinuance of that work, as well as to give the reasons for the History that is before him. If in exhibiting this Justification of myself, I should chance to give offence to any of the people of Ireland, I shall be sorry for it; but the fault is not in Me; the truth ought to be known, and my Engagements to the Publick make it necessary. To give no offence however that may be avoided, the private negotiations with some of the first men of that kingdom, for their interest in procuring a Public Aid, shall be omitted.

For as willing soever as I was to undertake a task, which no one before me had undertaken, yet it was soon found that the Manuscript materials for Irish History—not to be removed from the places in which they were deposited—were too voluminous to be inspected at the expence of a Writer on his own account, or on what might be repaid by the publication of such a work. But I shall say no more of the encouragements that were given me to expect a Parliamentary Assistance in carrying it on—besides the known Generosity of the Irish Nation—than that from thence I was induced to begin it, and to publish the First Volume. To that volume, comprehending the whole ancient history, a large Introduction was prefixed; which contains an account of the former and present state of Ireland, in its language, learning, religion, government, laws, customs, and manners, together with its natural history.

When it was seen that so great a progress had been made, and the Writer had given a specimen

of the diligence and impartiality of which some in Ireland had affected to doubt, it was presumed that a sufficient foundation was laid for a Public Application. The Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, then appointed Lord Lieutenant, was pleased, with his usual public spiritedness, to countenance the design : and as the best regulated and politest states have always afforded their patronage and assistance to undertakings of this kind, and Ireland is the only Nation in Europe without its General History, a Case was printed, and presented in the usual form to the Irish House of Commons ; wherein it was set forth, that besides the Manuscripts which I had collected from the public libraries and records at Dublin, there was an astonishing number here relating to that Country, in the Council and Secretaries Offices, the Museum and the Tower, and in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries, the use of which towards compleating a General History, would be attended with an Expence, that, without their assistance, it would be neither prudent nor practicable to attempt.

Though this application had the favour and concurrence of the Lord Lieutenant, and it was referred to the consideration of a Committee, yet no Report was made, and it went no further. But it would be impertinent to enter into the reasons that were, or that might be, assigned for this Neglect. It shall suffice only to say, that if the General History of the laws and constitution, of the commerce and civil affairs of any Country, is not a work of a Public Nature, it will be difficult to find what is so ; and all other states have been in a great error. It ought indeed to be mentioned, that his Excellency was so good as to inform me at his return, that if he went over to hold another Session of Parliament, he hoped that a way would be found—to which his Excellency's encouragement should not be wanting—for the Irish House of Commons to grant such an Aid as would enable me to continue and complete the History. But the reader need not be told, that it was not a Misfortune peculiar only to such a work, that before another Session, the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND ceased to be Lord Lieutenant : and the Care of its history, which in ancient times was one of the first cares of the state in Ireland, and is still the concern of every other civilized Nation, was then quite abandoned. My health had been so much impaired by the application bestowed on the First Volume, that I received this account—which fully justifies

sies my dropping such an arduous undertaking—with the utmost complacency. It remains therefore now that I inform the Reader, by what means I was induced, after so much discouragement, to concern myself any further with Irish affairs, and to undertake the following work.

Of the whole history of the kingdom of Ireland, the Rebellion and Civil War under CHARLES the First continued to the Restoration, which throws great light upon many passages of our English history, is undoubtedly the most interesting and critical part : and though the business of the Massacre hath made as much noise, and been as much the subject of dispute and crimination as any point of history in the world, it hath never yet been fully nor fairly represented. Indeed to say the truth, it hath not been in the power of many Writers to do this ; and of the few that could do it, not one hath been so inclined. The Original Protestant Irish Writers of this period, are SR JOHN TEMPLE, and DR. BORLASE : the first, who was Master of the Rolls, and a Privy-Councillor, hath confined himself entirely to the Massacre and Rebellion in the early part of it : and the sense of what he suffered by the insurrection, together with his attachment to the Ministry, led him to aggravate the crimes and cruelties of the Irish : the other, was the son of SR. JOHN BORLASE one of the Lords Justices at that time, and seems to have been an Officer in the Civil War ; who hath made great use of TEMPLE's history, and as far as he liked it, of Lord CLARENDON's vindication of the Marquis of ORMONDE. If both these Authors are to be read with great suspicions of Partiality—as they certainly are—except in the copies of original papers, and the facts which tally with them, SR. RICHARD COX, who hath done little more than transcribe the accounts which they have given, is entitled to less merit, and yet open to the same suspicions. When he had no longer these to be his guide, the remainder of his work is little more than an extract from the News papers and the Pamphlets of the time, and in no part deserves the name of a History.

The chief Original Popish Writers of this Rebellion, are the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, and Lord CASTLEHAVEN. The first wrote his Memoirs at the time of this calamity : but they relate only to what passed in that part of the country where he lived, and to the informations which he received : hence they serve for little more than to connect the several important letters there

collected, either to, or from himself. There hath been occasion to say so much of his Lordship in the History, that it is needless to add any thing more about this work, than that it hath been but lately published, and no former Historian could have the advantage of the materials which it affords. The Earl of CASTLEHAVEN, as far as he goes, and his memory serves him, seems entitled also to our confidence; however, as he wrote his Memoirs a great many years after the facts, it may very well happen that some of them are forgotten, and others misrepresented. Several little pieces more there are on the Catholic side, and a few on the other; but they are so insufficient, or so partial, as to be of no repute for History; and therefore need not be particularly mentioned.

There are no Original English Historians that I know of, who write any thing fully of this event in Ireland, besides the Earl of CLARENDON, and MR. CARTE: the former, in his history of the Rebellion and Civil War in England, and in a little piece in vindication of the Marquis of ORMONDE; which, in the late editions, goes under the title—very improperly—of a History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland. The noble Historian's attachment to the cause of CHARLES the First, hath evidently given a bias to the whole of his great work: and on the most critical part of the King's conduct with regard to Ireland—his Commissions to the Earl of GLAMORGAN—his Lordship, to our astonishment, is entirely silent; neither doth he enter much into any transactions in that country, wherein the King was not personally concerned. In the little piece above mentioned, which was written at Cologne, and handed about in manuscript copies, without any name, till after his Lordship's death, his materials were taken from the Marquis of ORMONDE's papers; but it contains little more, according to its design, than a vindication of the Marquis, in the Peace which he made twice with the Confederate Catholics, and a display of their ingratitude, and infatuation. MR. CARTE treats professedly of this whole Rebellion, in his Life of the Duke of ORMONDE, and is by much the most copious and best Writer upon it: but there are so many flagrant instances of his partiality for the King, and of his prejudice against the Irish Ministers at the breaking out of the insurrection, that he is never to be read, where the ill conduct of the first is palliated, or the other censured, without the utmost

most caution. In the business of Lord GLAMORGAN particularly, he is extremely culpable; and, contrary to the evidence that was before him, throws all the blame of that transaction from the King upon his Lordship.

It may be said perhaps with some propriety, that NALSON, and RUSHWORTH, are Original English Writers of this event: but the Historical part of either, which reaches but a little way, is only to throw some light on the papers concerning Ireland, of which they give an useful, and for the most part, a just Collection: the first is as partial in his narrative on the side of the King, as the other on the side of the Parliament; and they are both to be consulted with great allowance for their Party Zeal. As to all the Writers of English History, who attempt to give any relation of this Rebellion, having compiled from some or other of the materials above mentioned, they have copied likewise their mistakes and imperfections: hence they are so inaccurate, partial, or uninformed, that whosoever contents himself with the accounts that he meets with of it, in any of our Histories of England—not one excepted—may be said to know little of it: and yet such a great part of English History, in the last seven years of CHARLES the First, is so intimately connected with Irish affairs, that a competent knowledge of them is necessary to make the other thoroughly understood.

But in this detail which hath been given of the several Writers on this Rebellion, my meaning hath not been to censure their errors and imperfections, but to shew how defective or fallacious this important point of history still remains; and consequently to prove the Utility of an impartial and authentic work. Here the Reader will see then the principal Reason which induced me, after so much Discouragement, to resume my labour upon Irish History. For this is a part of it which is so much connected with our own, that besides the Interest of Truth and Humanity in such a work, which is always valuable to a good mind, it seemed to me to be doing a service to Religion and Letters, here at Home, to undertake it. I do not presume to arraign the Lenity of our Governors in Church or State, for a very astonishing and unexampled Connivance at the increase of Popery: but as such swarms of Jesuits,—it is said, and I believe truly—have lately filled these kingdoms, whom other States have wisely banished, and who are the known Enemies of our Spiritual and Political Constitution,

stitution, it appeared very seasonable to produce a History, fraught with the dire effects of their religion and their practices in a former age. A Liberty of Conscience to all those who have been born and educated here in that religion, is one thing; and God forbid it should be retrenched: but to permit an Army of foreign Priests to invade us, and to corrupt the minds of Protestant subjects, is another; and our Laws prohibit it very wisely. But what signify Laws, when the Execution of them lies asleep? Let me not be misunderstood. Far be it from me to wish that the Government should go the length of all the cruel intolerant Statutes of ELIZABETH, and JAMES the First. I mean only such to be put in Force, and in the gentlest Manner, as would prevent the Increase of Popery.

There have been indeed for some time, so many apparent signs of an approaching Dissolution of the religion and liberties of this Country, and we are hastening so fast to our destruction, by a general luxury and corruption, by selfishness and depravity, that it is much perhaps to be doubted, whether any thing will awaken our Superiours from their Lethargy and Inattention. But a Lover of his Country cannot see this state of things with an eye of indifference; and the greater is its danger, the more he will exert himself to preserve it. The opinion, I know, is out of fashion, and the Man who avows it in this age of selfishness, is in no little hazard of passing in the world for a Bubble. But however, in defiance of this Profligacy, and tho' the way to honours and preferments lies through a less painful road than that of Zeal and Application in the public service, yet I will dare to repeat what I have said in another place*, "that the Service of our Country, is not a chimerical, but a real Duty; and that a Benevolent Man will employ all the means that are in his power to perform it." A Sense of this Duty therefore came in aid of other considerations, and was the principal Motive that induced me to give this history to the world.

But as another reason for undertaking it, I must inform the Reader that the Materials for it were All, either already in my own possession, or easily within my reach without any great Trouble; and—which was not the case in continuing the General History—without any Expence. Besides the extracts that I had taken from authentic manuscripts at Dublin I have the original return of the Depositions signed by the Commissioners, who were appointed to examine

* Dedication of the Life of SR. THO. MOORE. 1758.

into the Massacre at the beginning of the Rebellion ; which, as it gives a Clearness and Authority that hath hitherto been wanting on this contested point, it must be owned, I was unwilling should be lost intirely to the world. I had also the advantage of Lord CLANRICARDE's Memoirs and letters, published too late for other Histories to make use of : and it was easy to have recourse to the Harleian Manuscripts in the Museum, in which are some original Letters on this Subject from CHARLES the First. More important still perhaps than any of these, I had the perusal of the Memoirs of RINUCCINI, the Pope's Nuncio in Ireland at the time of this Rebellion. He had preserved the copies, and the answers, of his own letters to Rome, the accounts sent him of the several events as they fell out, and the papers and memorials which passed between him and the Supreme Council of the Catholics. These were put into the hands of an Irish Priest after the Nuncio's death, by his Brother the Chamberlain to the Great Duke of Tuscany, in order to be reduced into the form of a narrative, or Commentary ; and such it is entitled. It is a Latin Manuscript in four immense volumes in Folio ; and appears to be written with candour, and a strict regard to the materials : but I have made no use of those, which relate to the times in which the Nuncio himself was not in Ireland ; as being of no certain authority. The original Manuscript, I have been informed, is in the Pope's library in the Vatican : the copy above-mentioned was procured by the late Earl of LEICESTER in his travels : and through the friendship of the Earl of BESSBOROUGH, and a zealous attention to his Country, I was favoured with the Manuscript by the Countess of LEICESTER ; to both whom I take the liberty of making a public acknowledgment, for the embellishment and authority which it hath given to this work. No other English Writer appears to have seen these Memoirs, except MR. CARTE, and DR. BIRCH : the former hath made a very partial use of them ; and the latter confines himself to a few transactions of the King and Lord GLAMORGAN with the Nuncio and the Rebels. These Memoirs however bring to light so many secret affairs of the Catholics in that period—to say no more—that it is impossible for any history of the Irish Rebellion to be complete, without the assistance of this Manuscript. Having thus justified myself, I hope very fully, for not continuing the General History of Ireland, as I had proposed to do, and for taking up only a part of it in the following work, it is necessary
now

now to give some account of it, and of the manner in which I have attempted to execute it with success.

It will be difficult perhaps to find, in any Age, and in any Nation, a History which abounds with scenes of more variety and intrigue, or with events that are more interesting than are to be met with here. But of the Work itself I shall say no more, than that it is full of such enterprises, as will afford an instructive, and a much unheeded Lesson to Mankind. It will instruct PRINCES, to consult the Interest and inclinations of their Subjects, and not to govern by illegal and despotic Power. It will instruct the MINISTERS of Princes that their own Passions, Faction, and Ill-humour, will produce as much Mischief to the Public Peace, and the Security of their Master, as the most open Villany. It will instruct the PEOPLE, not to suffer and assist the Folly, the Forwardness, the Pride, and Ambition of particular persons, to govern the Public Understanding, and the venom of Private Interest to be mingled with the Public Good. These will appear to have been the means which Providence permitted, to infatuate a people ripe and prepared for their destruction: and by suffering the Weak to contribute to the ill designs of the Wicked, and the Wicked to be more wicked than they first intended, such a Scene of horror and desolation followed, as is scarcely to be equalled in any Country.

In order to write the history with that fulness, with which All History should be written to become Useful, the various Authorities above-mentioned, manuscript and printed, and others not mentioned, were consulted in compiling it. The Reader will find them in the margin, at the head of each respective Book to which they belong: and as the several Years are distinguished, a particular reference to the Pages was deemed unnecessary. But for the copies of Public Papers, or the proceedings in Parliament, the Names of the Writer from whom they are taken are placed against them. The principal source of the Printed Materials for this work, was found in the Life of the Duke of ORMONDE by MR. CARTE; in which he hath treated so copiously of this Rebellion, as to employ about half of two volumes in folio entirely on it. His account is chiefly written from the original Letters of the King and his Secretaries, of the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, and of Lord ORMONDE, and other principal persons—a Collection of which he hath also published in a third volume—; from the Journals of Parliament, from the Papers in the Ormonde Family, from the Manuscripts

Manuscripts collected by DR. MADAN Bishop of Clogher, and from the private Memoirs of one PLUNKET, who lived in that time, and was himself an eye-witness of many transactions which he relates. To this work of MR. CARTE's, and to the volume of original letters, I am more indebted in the following history, than to all the other Writers put together. But as his stile is generally very verbose, and the parts of his sentences not always well connected, I have not copied him servily in the passages which I have taken from him: and where his materials are drawn from the letters, I have not written from Him, but from the Letters themselves. Upon points of little moment where he hath been very full, and very brief, or entirely silent upon important points, which hath sometimes happened, in the former case I have taken the liberty to leave him, and to add to him in the latter. The various proceedings of the English Parliament, though of such authority and importance, are scarcely ever related by him; and he hath made but a superficial use of the Nuncio's Memoirs. The Particulars of the little skirmishes and rencounters during the war, though they might be acceptable to some of the Irish, who are acquainted with the places wherein they happened, or are concerned for the honour of those who signalised themselves in them, yet to Readers in general must appear insipid and insignificant; and therefore they have been omitted. Even of the principal Battles and Sieges, the Particulars of which might be entertaining, I have given only a short account; for this reason among others, that I was not able to understand the minute details that were to have been transcribed: And I have been told by Military Men of great rank, that without Plans of the Fortifications, of the Field of Battle, and of the Position of the Armies, such relations, especially when drawn by men of another profession, are neither accurate nor intelligible.

It is very remarkable, that none of the Irish Writers who relate the transactions of this period—Lord CLANRICARDE excepted—observe the Order of Time; which occasions great perplexity: and though MR. CARTE is more accurate, yet he often runs into the same defect. A great attention hath been paid to this circumstance in the following work: and it is hoped that it will be found to be generally pretty exact. To add to the Clearness which hath been thus attempted, and that the Dates of the several letters, instruments, or events, may easily be understood, they are altered here, where it was necessary, so as

to make them correspond with the Computation now in use, and that the Year should begin with the first of January. No pains indeed have been spared, and no endeavours wanting, to make this History as worthy of the attention of the Publick as I could make it. But after all the care that hath been taken, the Author is not so vain as to suppose it is wholly free from Error. He can only say, that none hath been committed through Carelessness or Design; but in so large a work it is extremely difficult to avoid it. He hath no apprehension however of having the Crime of Partiality laid to his charge—and a great Crime it is: for he believes he is more likely to give offence to All sides, by the Favour which hath been shewn on some occasions, and by the Severity with which on others he hath condemned them ALL. The Bigots on each side, who always have been and ever will be the Plague of the Wise and Good, have with infinite disservice to truth and charity, stuck at nothing that would enflame the passions of each other with the most infernal rage. But a good-hearted man will always be an enemy to the passion and uncharitableness which are produced by different sentiments in Religion: And if I am found in this history, to pay generally more Civility to the Persons of the Catholics, and to load their Principles with less Censure, than other Protestant Writers usually do, surely such Candour will need no Apology.

Upon the whole, If this History should induce the IRISH PAPISTS to see their real interest, in being contented with a toleration of the exercise of their Religion, and in abstaining from the least approaches to those measures which brought their Ancestors to Ruin; If it enlarges the sentiments of the IRISH PROTESTANTS, and, by giving a benevolent cast of thought, should incline them to the Repeal of those severe and vindictive Statutes against their Fellow-Subjects in the reign of ANNE, which are as contrary to sound Policy as to true Religion: and if the Reflections intermixed, which have nothing of Party in them, should have Honesty and Good Sense enough to engage the attention of the ENGLISH, and awaken them from their Selfishness to a sense of Duty, the Author will think himself happy in thus closing his Public Labours, with a Work of such Utility to Religious and Civil Liberty, to the Peace and Prosperity of Both Kingdoms.

EXPLANATION

OF THE AUTHORITIES

Mentioned in the Margin, from which this History was principally compiled.

CLARENDON. THE History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, written by EDW. Earl of CLARENDON Fol. And a Vindication of JAMES Duke of ORMONDE. Octavo.

CASTLEHAVEN. The Earl of CASTLEHAVEN's Memoirs. Octavo.

COX. History of Ireland by SR. R. COX 2 Vol. Fol.

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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E B E L L I O N and C I V I L - W A R
I N
I R E L A N D.

B O O K I.

A MIDST a general tranquillity which had been established in Ireland for many years; when all former animosities seemed to have been extinguished, and every irritating distinction to have been laid aside; that a rebellion should be concerted, and without the knowledge or suspicion of any but the contrivers, should break out on a sudden into acts of cruelty, in several parts of the kingdom on one and the same day; this is an historical event so very astonishing and improbable, as posterity can scarcely credit: but yet the fact is undeniable. For a few interruptions and murmurings in some particular places notwithstanding, almost forty years had passed away in the greatest calm and felicity that the inhabitants of Ireland had ever before enjoyed. The great encrease of commerce, the improvements of land, and the ornament and advantages of public buildings, had given a new face to the country. Whatsoever their skill and industry produced became their own: being not

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A. 1641.

CLAREND.
CASTLEHA.
COX.

TEMPLE.
BORLASE.
HARRIS.

CART.
His Memoirs.

CHARLES I. only free from fear of having it taken from them by the government upon any pretence without their own consent, but being also secured against theft and robbery by the just execution of salutary and useful laws.

A. 1641.

Should it be alledged that a want of freedom in the exercise of their religion among the Catholics, who were the Majority of the people, had occasioned their dissatisfaction, yet that dissatisfaction, on an impartial view of the evidence on both sides, I presume to say was unreasonable and unjust. For though the power and authority of the Pope is not admitted by the constitution of that kingdom, yet the whole nation, generally speaking, enjoyed an undisturbed exercise of their religion. Even in Dublin itself, which is the seat of administration, the Roman Catholics went tho' not as publicly, yet as uninterruptedly to their devotions, as the chief governor did to his. They had their titular archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, provincial synods, deans, abbots, friars, and nuns, who all lived freely, tho' somewhat covertly amongst them, and without restraint exercised their respective jurisdictions. They had also their priests and jesuits, who were of late years multiplied exceedingly from Spain and Italy and other parts abroad; whither the children of the native Irish were usually sent for their education. These priests and jesuits, without any restraint had settled themselves quietly in all the chief towns and villages, and in the Noblemen's and Gentlemen's houses throughout the kingdom. Thus tho' it was privately, yet the exercise of all their religious rites and ceremonies was enjoyed freely without any controul: and tho' there were some laws against them still in force, which the wisdom and necessity of former ages had caused to be enacted, and which the policy of the present times had kept unrepealed, yet the edge of those laws was so totally rebated by the lenity of the government, that not a single man could say that he had suffered any prejudice or disturbance for his religion: nor was this all their indulgence. The Roman Catholics were allowed to enjoy the offices of sheriffs of counties without the oath of supremacy, to have seats in parliament, and to be magistrates of corporations: which is another kind of indulgence, it must be owned, than subjects who profess a different faith from that which is established by law can boast of in any other country in the world. I will go further than this and say, without any fear of contradiction,

dition, that it was another sort of indulgence than they should have had: there being no proposition more self-evident, than that no man ought to be trusted with any share of power under a government, who to act consistently with himself, must endeavour the destruction of that government: and to this indulgence perhaps may be attributed a great deal of the mischief which ensued.

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The ancient animosities of the native Irish against those of English descent, seemed in appearance to be extinguished by frequent inter-marriages and alliances, by mutual interests and friendships, and, which is more in their esteem, by gossipred and fostering; customs, which the reader will find explained in my other history *. Nay they had made as it were a mutual transmigration into each others manners; many English having degenerated into Irish habits and sordid ways of living; and many of the latter on the other hand, of the better sort especially, having adopted the English language, elegance, and apparel. So great an advantage did they find indeed in this intercourse, in the improvement of their lands and manufactures, beyond what they ever knew before, that many of the landlords tho' Roman Catholicks, of the old native stock——whom I call the IRISH, and who must be distinguished from those of English descent, whom I call the ENGLISH people of Ireland——had turned their Irish tenants, tho' Papists, out of their estates, and had taken English, tho' Protestants, in their room.

It shall not be concealed from the reader, that this representation of the tranquillity of the kingdom of Ireland is objected to by the writers on the side of the Roman Catholicks. They bring particular instances of grievances and discontents on many occasions; and especially in the seven years preceding the rebellion under the government of the Earl of STRAFFORD. But should all these be allowed, of which—to speak impartially—many must be contradicted, either in themselves, or in their extent, yet these interruptions are not sufficient to overthrow the truth of such a general representation: and that the Irish had this opinion of their own felicity, speaking of themselves as a nation, is evident from the great encomiums given of his Lordship's administration, but the year before the rebellion, by the Parliament; most of the members of which who were native Irish, as these

* Hist. of Ireland, Introduc. p. 96.

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A. 1641.

writers allow, being Papists. Indeed if that Earl's administration was not without faults and errors, as it certainly was not, yet the general course of it was calculated to promote the peace and prosperity of that kingdom: nor would particular instances be wanting, were this a place to produce them, of the superior figure it made under Lord STRAFFORD's government, than it had ever made since it was a nation. Nay further than all this, the grievances they complained of under him, were in the summer before the rebellion redressed by the King: and therefore I return again to say, that in this mutual amity and comfort had the inhabitants lived together, with few and short interruptions for almost forty years; when discerning some distempers which arose in England upon the Scotch invasion, and the countenance which was given to those people here by many leading men, the same sort of jealousies and discontents were transplanted into Ireland, and entertained and cherished at Dublin. Did the English parliament accuse several Councillors and Ministers of state upon vague and general imputations, in order to remove out of their way the persons trusted by the crown, and whose wisdom might have prevented the ensuing mischief? Even so men of turbulent and seditious spirits in Ireland, impeached their Lord Chancellor and several of their Judges: and the very same Parliament which had passed an act the year before for four subsidies to the King, "as thinking nothing too much to shew their zeal and affection for his service"—in the preamble of which they found the praise of the Earl of STRAFFORD in the most fullsome strains—veering about all on a sudden with the wind from England, reduced three of the subsidies to a sum so inconsiderable as to be scarce worth collecting; drew up a remonstrance against the Earl as the author of their grievances and a destroyer of the natural freedom of their parliament; and conspired even with their enemies to bring his Lordship to the scaffold. This remonstrance, obtained in a forcible unparliamentary manner, and which was fuller of passion and party than of truth or candour, was sent over to the King, against the consent of the Lord Deputy, by a committee of four Lords and twelve of the House of Commons; almost all of them Roman Catholics. The King, to give them contentment, and the Lord Deputy being dead, appointed Lord DILLON and Sir W. PARSONS Lords Justices of that kingdom; but finding the former not agreeable to the committee and the

English

English Parliament, because of his intimacy and alliance with the Earl of STRAFFORD, his Majesty imprudently cancelled the commission, and put SR. JOHN BORLASE, master of the ordnance in the room of the Lord DILLON.

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No sooner were these Ministers possessed of their high power than they endeavoured to put the government on its former footing; in order to mollify the sharp humours which some of the rigid measures of the Earl of STRAFFORD's administration had introduced. The known laws of the land were made the standard of their government; and they gave all due encouragement to the parliament then sitting for the ease and accommodation of his Majesty's subjects in some important articles. The King having given a full satisfaction to the committee above-mentioned, by ordering them copies of all records, of all orders of council, and of all entries which were necessary to manifest and prove their grievances, and by several other gracious compliances and condescensions, so, that he might further testify his resolution to make his Irish subjects easy under his government, in the beginning of May he appointed the Earl of LEICESTER,—and not the English Parliament, as LUDLOW says—Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom. Had this Lord then gone over, which he never did, or if the King had made the Earl of ORMONDE Lord deputy, as the Earl of STRAFFORD had advised, it would have been happy for the Irish nation; as the rebellion would either probably have been prevented, or smothered in its birth. The Earl of ORMONDE was on the spot, Lieutenant General of the army, a nobleman of much weight on account of his great estate, his family and alliances, as well as of his temper and abilities: and had the King consulted only his own judgment and inclination, he would have put the government of Ireland under his Lordship's care. But his Majesty suffered himself to be over-ruled in this particular by the committee above-mentioned, and by some of his Council here; who had prejudices against the Earl. When a King thus forbears to make use of proper persons in his service, or to put those out of it, whose fidelity and abilities have been experienced, in order only to comply with a discontented party, it is a weakness for which his government will always suffer. Many proofs of this might be produced from the history of our own times; tho' they were never more visible than in the unhappy reign of which I write. If this is a lesson useful to Princes, it is of no less importance

CHARLES I. to their subjects ; in whom it is highly criminal to weaken and disturb the government they live under, by motives merely of prejudice or ambition. With these alterations in their affairs, and the Earl of STRAFFORD being removed for ever out of their way, the committee sent by the parliament returned to Dublin. They found their two houses, it being the latter end of August, had a few days before, by consent of the majority, been adjourned for three months : and desiring the Lords Justices and Council to issue out proclamation of all his Majesty's grants and graces that they might be made known to the people, in which they were gratified, they retired with an appearance of great satisfaction to their respective houses in the country, till the parliament should meet again according to the adjournment.

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In this happy situation of public affairs, when the national grievances were redressed, and a general composure and serenity was established throughout the kingdom ; nothing to fear from the administration, and no animosities as to interest or religion appearing to subsist among them ; without the least pretence of a quarrel, or the apprehension of any hostility by the Protestants, an information was one evening given to **SR. W. PARSONS** one of the Lords Justices, that a design was formed by some Irish Catholics, on the next day to surprize and seize the castle of Dublin ; the chief seat of government, and in which was a large magazine of arms and ammunition : and tho' this scheme was defeated by this information, as will be seen hereafter, yet the next day, which was the **TWENTY-THIRD OF OCTOBER**—being the market-day at Dublin—a great number of Irish Catholics, by a previous general concert in the province of Ulster, and soon after in other places, tumultuously assembled together, put themselves in arms or took dangerous weapons, seized all the towns, castles and houses there belonging to the Protestants which they had force enough to possess ; and in a short time after, with the most shocking circumstances of cruelty that the imagination can represent, destroyed in many parts of the kingdom a vast number of men, women, and children, without distinction of age or sex, or any other pretence of crime than their being of English descent, and not being Papists.

In the month of March before this, the king had ordered **SR. HEN. VAND**, one of the secretaries of state, to acquaint the Lords Justices, “ with an advice that had
“ been

“ been given him from abroad, and confirmed by his Ministers in Spain and other places, that there had then lately passed from Spain—and it was likely from other parts—an unspeakable number of Irish Churchmen for England and Ireland, and some good old Soldiers under pretext of asking leave to raise men for the King of Spain : whereas it is observed among the Irish Friars in Spain, that a whisper runs as if they expected a rebellion in Ireland, and particularly in Conaught, Wherefore his Majesty thought fit to give their Lordships this notice, that in their wisdoms they might manage the same with that dexterity and secrecy as to discover and prevent so pernicious a design, if any such there should be ; and to have a watchful eye on the proceedings and actions of those who come thither from abroad on what pretext soever.” It was necessary to recite particularly this letter : and the reader is desired to keep it in remembrance for reasons that will appear. : But whatever wisdom or dexterity those Lords Justices might be possessed of, there is no account in any of the histories of that time, that they took any steps whatever in consequence of this advice ; and I believe it is very certain that none were taken.

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An obscure intimation of some secret practices was also given to them, in a letter from SR. WIL. COLE, eleven days before the insurrection ; informing them “ that he had received intelligence from people of credit, that there had of late been a more than ordinary resort of people, and some of them from abroad, at the house of SR. PHELM O NEIL in the county of Tyrone ; which had bred a suspicion in the minds of honest people, that something of evil intention was then in agitation. They were the more apprehensive, he says, of this, because Lord MAC-GUIRE had been observed to take frequent journeys lately to Dublin, into the Pale, and to SR. PHELM’s house. He had likewise received advice, that his Lordship had been writing letters a whole night together lately, and had dispatched away every man he had about him with them the next morning : and on the day SR. W. COLE wrote this account to the Lords Justices, he had received an information, “ that Lord MAC-GUIRE had appointed seven captains to entertain men for the service of the King of Spain ; of the truth of which service, on account of the privacy which was observed, and for other reasons, he was much in doubt.” To this letter

CHARLES I. the Lords Justices and Council returned an answer ; desiring **SR. W. COLE** to be very vigilant and industrious in order to find out the occasion of those meetings he had mentioned, and to give them intelligence of that or any other particular which he might think of service to the state. More than this, it is alledged in their defence, that they could not do with any propriety : because if they had secured **LORD MAC-GUIRE** and **SR. PHELM** on this suspicion, before those Gentlemen had given proofs of their sedition, it would have furnished the Irish, who were ever ready to take fire, with a pretence for putting themselves in arms. Besides some were so unwilling to entertain any mistrust of the Irish, believing time and good usage had worn off all ill impressions, that they were solicitous to remove suspicions of them in others : “ so that more than a circumspect eye was not to be advised.” Whether this is a sufficient vindication of the inactivity of the Lords Justices and Council,—which is much to be doubted—it is impossible at this distance of time, without knowing all the circumstances, to determine. But yet it must be owned, that it is much easier to decide now from the accidents and occurrences that have happened what ought then to have been done, than it was at that time to have foreseen by what means this conspiracy would grow up into so much strength. It is certain however that on the twenty-first of October, two days before the breaking out of the rebellion, **SR. W. COLE** sent another letter to the Council to give them notice of it ; and it is as certain, according to **SR. JOHN TEMPLE**, who was one of them, that those letters never came to their hands : tho’ he does not pretend to say how, or where, they were intercepted.

Having given the reader a view of the state of public affairs in Ireland for some time previous to the insurrection, it may be necessary for the better understanding this point of history, to lay open the **CAUSES** and **OCCASIONS** of an event so little expected, and so very astonishing and important in itself, as well as dreadful in its effects. I have proposed to assign the Occasions of this rebellion, besides the Causes of it ; tho’ no writer that I have seen makes any distinction between them, but some of them put the latter before the former ; and yet I must own they appear to me to be very different things in themselves, and likewise in the order of time. But to speak of the causes of this insurrection with any precision, it is expedient to take
the

the history a good deal higher up than I have hitherto done, even at the English conquest. From that æra there commenced two different sorts of people in the same country, totally different in nation, interest, manners, laws, language, and disposition. If the English looked upon themselves as the conquerors of the others, as the more civilized polished people, and superior to them in the arts of life; the Irish looked upon them as their mortal enemies, who had invaded their country without any just cause of hostility, who had plundered their effects, deprived them of their estates and liberties, and whom it was reasonable to oppose by skill and force whenever they had an opportunity, that they might be restored to their own possessions. Whosoever has read, or will give himself the trouble to read, the history which I have published in a former volume, will find the native Irish to be a very fierce, high spirited, and irascible, if not a vindictive people; who would doubtless therefore watch every occasion to get rid of their unjust usurpers. The distinction of NATIONS was for this reason so carefully kept up on the side of the Irish, that no laws nor allurements could for many ages persuade them to part with their language, their habit, or the most barbarous of their customs: and when they afterwards appeared to be in a manner reconciled to the English government and laws, yet, generally speaking, they still entertained inwardly an inextinguishable antipathy to the English name and nation.

To a difference of NATION, must be added as another cause of this rebellion, a difference of INTEREST, which had occasioned animosities from the very first settlement of the English in that island. Having a jealousy that they were looked upon by all their Monarchs and their Governors in general as a conquered people, this jealousy made them imagine that they were seldom or never treated like freeborn or natural subjects; and perhaps it was not always a matter of imagination only. My present design however does not lead me to enter into particulars. Let it suffice only to say, that in the rebellion of TYRONE under JAMES the First, a great part of six counties, in the province of Ulster, were forfeited to the Crown, and new planted; as many of their lands had been before: But yet these forfeitures were never acknowledged by the Irish to be just; and as many of the new settlers were brought from Scotland, which they disliked more than England,

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England, it aggravated their imagined injury : And therefore they thought, that in the same way by which they lost their liberties and estates—by superior force—they were entitled to recover them whenever they should be able. But to put it out of doubt that this was one of the causes of this rebellion, I will give the reader Lord CASTLEHAVEN's opinion in his own words ; a man of sense and candour, a Roman Catholick, and a General in this rebellion on the side of the Irish. “ I must confess, I myself am now, as I have been long since, upon serious reflexions abundantly convinced, that however the circumstances of this time [meaning the troubles in Scotland] gave life and birth to that rebellion of Ireland, yet the design of it had been laid partly at home, but chiefly abroad in foreign parts, even several years before the troubles either of England or Scotland began ; and that the original, true, and great motive indeed thereof, was no other than that fatal one, which for so many hundred years, from HENRY II. to the beginning of King JAMES's reign, had been not only the very source of all the dangerous rebellions of that country, but the very bane and ruin of its people on all sides for so many ages ; the national feud, I mean, between the MERE Irish—as the ancient Milesians are called—and the LATER Irish, or colonies of English extraction among them ; and the unalterable persuasion of the former that the English conquest of that country was but mere usurpation without any just title ; and that the right both to the supreme sovereignty and proprietorship too of all the lands of Ireland, still remained according to the ancient Brehon laws of that country—which, say they, had never been repealed or antiquated, and consequently also according to the laws of GOD—in the surviving heirs of the more ancient natives, the Milesians *. It is true that forty years continual and flourishing peace in all obedience to the English laws there, from the last of Queen ELIZABETH to sixteen hundred forty-one, seemed to carry a fair outside, as if all those national animosities and pretences had been utterly extinguished. But alas ! the old leaven still fermented inwardly of one side, and among that side the fire was but covered under hot embers. The earls of TYRONE and TIRCONNEL, and the councils of Spain and Rome, and the Irish monasteries and seminaries in so many countries of Europe and very

* The Milesians, and the Brehon laws, are explained in my First Volume of the History of Ireland.

many of the Churchmen returning home out of them, and chiefly the titular Bishops together with the Superiors of regular orders, took an effectual course under the specious colour of religion, to add continually new fuel to the burning coals and prepare them for a flame on the first opportunity ; which, whoever did not see in the beginning of this rebellion—as many did not—by observing what extraction, or what names all the first appearers in it were of ; and how particularly of the whole hundred that were designed for seizing the castle of Dublin there was not so much as one Person of British blood, extraction or name, among them, might nevertheless, and without the help of a multiplying glass, most clearly see it in the procedure of the war.”

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But another, and perhaps the most prevalent cause of all which generated this rebellion, was the difference of RELIGION ; and this is the cause avowed by the Catholics themselves who took up arms, as the reader will presently see. I shall now however recall to his remembrance, as a proof of it, what SR. HEN. VANE writes to the Lords Justices ; “ that his Majesty had received advice that there had lately passed from Spain—and it was likely from other parts—an unspeakable number of CHURCHMEN into England and Ireland, and that a whisper run among the Irish Friars in Spain, as if they expected a rebellion in Ireland.” This of itself is a proof sufficient to convince us, that an intention to restore the free and unlimited exercise of their religion was one great cause of this rebellion : and to say the truth, they had never ceased from the time of the reformation to encroach on the toleration that was allowed them ; but by plots, conspiracies, and insurrections, had been struggling against the Protestant religion, and labouring to overthrow it. Nor can we wonder ; when they were taught *, “ that the Pope was by divine right universal Monarch and Governor of the world, and had independent Sovereign authority over Kings and subjects in temporal as well as spiritual concerns ; that he might depose and dethrone Kings, and had power of both swords, to which every soul upon pain of damnation was bound to give obedience ; that he had power to absolve from all oaths, and that those who are slain in the quarrel of the Church against an excommunicated prince die true martyrs to CHRIST, and their souls flie to heaven immediate-

* Walsb's Remonstr. pre. p. 6, 7.

CHARLES I. ly." Thus the titular Bishop of FERNES of that time, speaking of this rebellion, calls it "a just and most holy war." But to say nothing of the peculiar spirit of Popery, which from the history of all nations we know to have been always zealous and sometimes fiery and vindictive, it is no wonder that the Irish priests, who have an absolute power over the ignorant superstitious multitude, and no little influence over the gentry of their communion, should be continually struggling for the establishment of their religion. They were always educated abroad, but principally in France and Spain; from whence they returned with principles of unlimited obedience towards the Pope, and with too little sense of that allegiance which was due to their rightful Sovereign, though of a communion different from themselves. Thus they had set up an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which they exercised under the papal authority, though in express contradiction to the law of the land: and though the state connived at this offence, and at their celebrating religious rites according to their conscience in a modest private manner,—as it is to be hoped it ever will do—yet to those who had seen the pomp and splendour with which their religion was exercised in foreign parts, and which they longed to see restored at home, this was a toleration by no means satisfactory and agreeable. The figure and grandeur in which foreign prelates appeared, the great respect paid to the inferior clergy, and the certain revenues appropriated to them abroad, these were circumstances which made them uneasy with their own condition in Ireland; where they could not with prudence appear openly, and their character was consequently without public respect; and where even their subsistence, scanty as it was, was absolutely dependent. But yet the desire of an alteration, natural enough to a clergy thus educated, zealous for their religion, and mortified with their distresses, was however of such a nature, that they could not hope to see it gratified in a parliamentary way, which had been tried with success in other cases. In order to obtain such an alteration as would make them happy, so great a sacrifice must be made of the King's prerogative and the established church, as would alienate the minds of all his Protestant subjects, and involve his dominions in anarchy and confusion. No hope therefore remained of procuring any redress by the Parliament or the Crown; and if they expected any relief it must be in the way of arms. The conversation of the Irish

Irish priests abroad, where the character of being sufferers CHARLES I.
for their religion made their access to great men very
practicable, and where several of them had been enabled A. 1641.
to cultivate an interest with the Ministers of State in those
countries, gave them opportunities of soliciting supplies
of men and money to re-establish their religion in Ireland:
and in taking these opportunities, it is plain, from the his-
tory of those times, that they had not been idle. Nor is
the zeal for this work of maintaining the Popish religion
in Ireland to be ascribed only to their Clergy. For as
another proof that this was one of the Causes of the re-
bellion, I shall give the reader a letter, which I copied
from the Manuscripts belonging to the Dublin Society,
with which they favour'd me, taken from the "Black
Book of Christchurch." The letter was written at Rome
by the then Bishop of MEATH to the great O'NEIL of
that time, by order of the college of Cardinals, and is in
these words.

My Son O'NEIL,

Thou and thy fathers were all along faithful to the
mother church of Rome. His holiness PAUL, now Pope,
and the council of the holy Fathers, have lately found
out a prophecy there remaining of one St. LATESIA-
NUS an Irish bishop of Cashel; wherein he saith, "that
the mother church of Rome falleth when in Ireland the
catholic faith is overcome." Therefore for the glory of
the mother church, the honour of St. PETER, and your
own security, suppress hereby in his holiness's enemies;
for when the Roman faith there perisheth, the See of
Rome falleth also. Therefore the council of Cardinals
have thought fit to encourage your country of Ireland as a
sacred Island; being certified whilst the mother church
hath a son of worth as yourself, and of those that shall
succour you and join therein, she will never fall, but have
more or less a holding in Britain in spite of fate. Thus
having obeyed the order of the most sacred council, we
recommend your princely person to the holy Trinity, to
the blessed Virgin, St. PETER, and St. PAUL, and all the
heavenly host, Amen.

Romæ 4 Kalen.

Episcopus Metensis.

Maii 1538.

When it is considered that the church of Rome is pos-
sessed of such a prophecy, and that they place so great a
confidence in it, we may be sure that to whatever other
causes

CHARLES I. causes an insurrection in Ireland may be ascribed, the restoring the Popish religion to its ancient splendor, will be always one of the chief. Tho' the historians therefore are uncertain, where, and in what manner, the first plotting of the rebellion in sixteen hundred forty one was fabricated, neither hath time the great discoverer of truth brought it to light, yet that it was a machination of Popery, either in Ireland or Rome, and brought to maturity by those vigilant and industrious emissaries who are continually sent about by the holy See, the reader, in my opinion, hath had sufficient proof.

A 1641..

Having thus traced the CAUSES which gave birth to the design of a general insurrection, that was intended to extirpate the Protestants and their religion out of Ireland, I shall now set down the OCCASIONS which brought this design into action; into arming the Roman Catholics against the State, and to the exercise of such cruelties as are abhorrent to human nature. The first and principal Occasion, and which gradually brought on all the rest, was the success which the Scots met with in their first invasion of England, and the favourable terms that they got from the King. The Irish saw that the Scots, by pretending grievances and taking up arms to get them redressed, had procured whatever establishments they proposed in their own kingdom; and, "to the eternal disgrace of the courage, conscience, and the old honour of the English nation"—says Lord CLARENDON—that a donative of three hundred thousand pounds, besides five and twenty thousand pounds a month during their stay, had been voted them by parliament as a recompence for their hostile insolent undertaking. No wonder that a success like this, so wholly unbecoming the spirit of the King and kingdom of England, should animate the seditious discontented Irish to execute a design for which they wanted only a convenient opportunity. That in fact however this rebellious insult of the Scots, and the advantages they derived from it, had such an effect with the native Irish, is evident from the examination of O CONOLLY, who gave the first information of their design; and who says that they engaged in it, "to be rid of the tyrannical government that was over them, and to imitate Scotland who by that course had enlarged their privileges." The example of Scotland, in truth, wrought very powerfully on the imaginations of the Irish, and filled them with thoughts of emulation; "as deserving full as good

good, if not better usage, inasmuch as their country was CHARLES I. more beneficial and important to the English nation." A. 1641. They knew the weakness of the government and the distress which the King was in, and they thought themselves as able to overturn a constitution as the Scots; as strong in their own country, and as likely to obtain foreign succours. Nor was this the only effect of the Scotch invasion upon the Irish: for the commissioners and officers of that army had so far inveigled themselves with men of ill dispositions towards the King in both houses of this Parliament, that each other's cause was made their own; and a rupture between his Majesty and the Parliament here, as well as that in Scotland, seeming unavoidable, the Irish concluded that they could never have a fairer opportunity to execute their scheme with a prospect of success; as the King would be too much engaged with these two disobedient people, to give his enemies in Ireland any disturbance. To this must be added that the committee of Parliament from Dublin, which had this summer attended with their complaints against Lord STRAFFORD, most of them Papists who had a great share in the rebellion which ensued, had seen a vast deal of the spirit which was then gone forth against the government. They had been engaged, in concert with the leading men of the House of Commons, in the prosecution of that Minister; and tho' enemies as to religion, might be let into the secret of their operations against the state: at least, Lord CLARENDON seems to have thought so; and the measures afterwards in Ireland till the rebellion, were so exact a transcript of the methods which the others had pursued in England, that if they were not suggested, they were at least encouraged here. A spirit of turbulency and sedition appears to have been the distemper of those times; as it prevailed in France and other places as well as in the dominions of the English Monarch. But it seems clear to me, I confess, that if the Scotch army had been quelled on its first invasion, as it easily might, and as it certainly should have been, and if the officers and commissioners belonging to it had not been suffered to come to London or to remain in England, the troubles which ensued here had never happened, or at least would not have been carried to the height they were. Nor does it seem less clear, that if the committee from the Irish Parliament had not been countenanced, nor permitted to remain here, and to apply as they did to this House of Commons, that the rebellion

CHARLES I. lion in Ireland would not have been undertaken at that time, or would easily have been defeated. But to return.

A. 1641.

Another Occasion of the insurrection of the Irish at that juncture, was the disbanding of an army of eight thousand men which had been raised by Lord STRAFFORD, in order to assist the King against the Scots: and the old standing army, consisting only of about two thousand foot and nine hundred horse, was so strangely dispersed into remote parts of the kingdom for the guard of forts, as to make it almost impossible to draw together in any time a sufficient number for the defence of Dublin, or to make head against the rebels in the northern parts of the island. But the disbanding of the army raised against the Scots gave a fatal occasion to this dire attempt. The King perceiving there was no likelihood of making use of this army, not that use at least for which it had been raised, and hearing that mention was often made of it very maliciously against him in this House of Commons, which in concert with the Irish committee had addressed him for that purpose, determined to disband it; and tho' he had no money to pay them to free himself from a pretence of slander on that account. RAPIN indeed says, "that the Commons had provided for their payment;" but he says it without authority, and it is contrary to truth*. At the same time that the King's orders were sent to the Lords Justices, and the Earl of ORMONDE his Lieutenant General, to disband that army, he directed that any of the officers should have free leave to transport what number of men they could prevail upon to enter into the service of any Prince in amity with this State. In a short time after, upon the earnest entreaty of the Spanish ambassador, his Majesty consented that four thousand soldiers of that army might be sent into Flanders for the service of the King of Spain; and if any of them desired it, that they might be allowed to transport themselves into France. This was no sooner known, than the English House of Commons, who had nothing at all to do with it, "interposed with their accustomed confidence and distemper"—says Lord CLARENDON—to beseech his Majesty to revoke his licence; and by slight and impertinent reasons boldly urged and insisted on, as they did in every thing else, prevailed with the King to inhibit the transporting any of these soldiers out of that kingdom for the service of any Prince whatever. Many were of

* Carte's Life of ORMOND. Vol. I. p. 134.

opinion at that time, that this activity in a business of CHARLES I.
 which they had not the least cognizance, proceeded from A. 1641.
 the instigation of the French Minister, who certainly fomented those humours out of which the public calamities were engendered ; and several affirmed on their own knowledge, that the honest upright patriot Mr. PYM had five thousand pounds for preventing that supply for the King of Spain. Others believed that this interposition proceeded only from the proud and petulant spirit which then governed, in order to lessen the King's reputation, and to cross him in the exercise of the regal power. There was probably a foundation for all these opinions, and there might be some truth in all of them : but the principal motive to this interposition, according to the noble historian abovementioned, was the advice and request of the committee of Parliament from Ireland, whose counsel, he says, was always followed in what concerned that kingdom. Be this as it might ; it is certain that the public reasons alledged for this conduct of the English Parliament relating to that army, and drawn from mere possibilities only, were trifling and impertinent : and if these men had not been kept at home at a time when this turbulent spirit was infused into the people of Ireland, there would either have been no rebellion then in that kingdom, or the rebels would not have been able to form an army, and must easily have been suppressed by the first regular troops that should be sent against them.

Next to the breaking up of this army and detaining them in the country, it was an Occasion of the rebellion of no small consideration, that the Earl of STRAFFORD himself was taken out of the world. Had that Lord been living in his post of Lord Lieutenant, the Irish durst not have put their design in execution. Neither the King nor the kingdom would have sustained any material damage if they had been so hardy as to have attempted it ; “ but the monument of their presumption and their shame would have been raised together.” For the Earl of STRAFFORD was too brave, too vigilant, and too high spirited a ruler not to have crushed such an insurrection in its birth ; and their knowledge of this was no doubt one of the reasons, why the committee of Parliament—most of whom it appears from evidence had been privy to the design—stole out of the kingdom, contrary to the order of the Lord Deputy, to come hither to assist in his prosecution. But besides getting rid of such an insuperable obstacle in their

CHARLES I. without the least heart or grievance to any of your well disposed subjects, and to our great comfort and security by the large and ample benefits which we have received, and hope to receive, by your Majesty's commission of grace for remedy of defective titles procured hither by his Lordship—with more of the same kind—for this your tender care over us shewed by your deputing and supporting so good a governor, we your faithful subjects acknowledge ourselves more bound than we can with tongue or words express." The reader must take notice that here was no trick of state to carry such a vote by a majority, and then to represent it as the sense of the whole Parliament; but it was UNANIMOUS: and can any one believe after this, that they had any grievances which could be a sufficient foundation for this insurrection, when not ONE voice opposed this high flown compliment? Nay they were not only unanimous in their professions of his Majesty's clemency and their own felicity, but some of the NATIVES—most of whom are allowed by these writers to have been Papists—were not satisfied with barely consenting to the vote, but said, "that the King should have a fee simple of subsidies in their estates on like occasions; that it was fit to be done tho' it were leaving themselves nothing besides hose and doublet;" and with much earnestness concluded, "that as his Majesty was the best of Kings, so this people should strive to be ranked among the best of Subjects." But as a further answer to this pretended sufficiency of a foundation for resistance, and which is brought as an instance of as high a provocation as ever was offered to a free people, it may be proper to observe, that the enquiry into defective titles was actually stopped by the King, and an act ordered to be got ready to limit the claims whilst the Committee of Parliament were in England; and therefore could not be either the Cause or the Occasion of this rebellion which broke out three months after.

To as little purpose, in my opinion, do the same writers urge as another cause of it, "a continuation of the grievances already mentioned, and the just apprehension of others still greater with which they were threatened." The first of these reasons has been already obviated; but as they have brought as a proof of the truth of it, an extract of a letter from the Marquis of CLANRICARDE to the King, it shall not be concealed from the reader. The letter was written in Ireland on the twenty-sixth day of
October

October sixteen hundred forty-two ; and his Lordship's CHARLES I.
 words are these. " As the state of this kingdom stands, A. 1641.
 such is the sense of the opposition given to your Majesty
 by some faction in your Parliament, of the injustice done
 them by those that govern here, and the general destruction
 conceived to be designed against the natives, that almost
 the whole kingdom are united into one resolute body, to
 gain their preservation, or to sell their lives at the dearest
 rates." Had such a representation been made just before
 the insurrection, it must be owned it would have been
 much to the purpose for which these writers bring it. But
 whether this, which was the state of the kingdom a full
 year after the rebellion had taken place, and by which the
 Protestants were much exasperated, is any proof that the
 continuation of their grievances was a provocation to the
 Natives to raise this rebellion so long before, shall be left
 to the reader to determine. Nor are the Catholic historians
 more just and accurate in assigning as another motive to this
 insurrection, " the apprehensions of still greater grievan-
 ces that they were threatened with ; not the least alarm-
 ing of which were their well-grounded fears of an in-
 vasion of their country by the Scottish rebels, who
 they knew would give the native Irish no quarter, and
 whose proceedings the Lords Justices did secretly abet."
 The taking up arms against the King and his peaceable
 subjects because they were afraid of some of his Majesty's
 enemies, is a reason which in my opinion carries its own
 refutation ; neither could the fears of such an invasion be
 well grounded in October, because in the March was
 twelvemonth before that, the Lord Lieutenant had declared
 and signified to both Houses of Parliament, the near and
 approaching danger, that this realm was suddenly to be in-
 vaded by the Scots. The Scots had then just before been
 in arms against the King ; and though at that time they
 were under articles of pacification, yet it was visible to
 every one that they would soon be broken and the war re-
 newed ; as in fact they were. But when the insurrection
 broke out in Ireland, to which the fear of an invasion by
 the Scots is pretended to have been a motive, the King
 had granted every thing to the Scots, the negociation of
 peace had been concluded, his Majesty was himself
 actually at Edinburgh with them, and the Parliament of
 Scotland was at that time sitting in great tranquillity.
 What proceedings then were there, or could there be, of

CHARLES I. the Scotch rebels, that the Lords Justices are said secretly to abet and promote, when the rebellion in Scotland was quite at an end; and by what kind of construction can it be deemed a proof of the Lords Justices secretly abetting the Scotch rebels, that in two months after the insurrection they pressed the King and Parliament of England to send over ten thousand Scots—not of *THEM*, meaning the rebels as these writers say—under pretext of fighting against the Irish? But the state of that fact, according to the authority which is cited *; is truly this. The Council of Ireland having represented at this time to the King and Parliament of England, “the very ill and even desperate condition they were in, and therefore desiring supplies of men, money and all kind of warlike provisions might be sent away with all speed, declared that unless they received them presently, and that in great proportions, they were not able longer to subsist, but had just reason to apprehend their own present ruin, and the inevitable loss of the whole kingdom: And because they conceived the levies in England could not be so suddenly made, nor the men so easily transported from thence into the North of Ireland, (where the rebels appeared in greatest numbers, and had by their unparalleled cruelty towards the English done most mischief) as out of Scotland, they made a proposition to the Lord Lieutenant to move his Majesty and the Parliament, that ten thousand Scots might be presently RAISED and sent over into those parts. This they pressed with much earnestness, representing the very great terror the mere Irish had of that nation; that their bodies would better sort with that climate, endure more hardship, and with less distemper undergo the toil and miseries of an Irish war; and that the transportation would be made with more facility and less charge, it being not above three or four hours sail from some parts of Scotland into the North of Ireland.” Let the impartial reader now determine how far the sending for this succour from Scotland can be urged as a proof of the Lords Justices secretly abetting and promoting the proceedings of the Scotch rebels before the insurrection broke out in Ireland. But after all, the pretence of grievances is a mere fallacy intended to cover over or to justify the real end and design of this insurrection; which a man must be blind if he

* Temple's Ir. Rebel. p. 263, 4. Octo. Edit.

does not see, and extremely partial not to acknowledge. For whatever interruptions had been given to their tranquillity, they were given by the government; and supposing the Irish to have been oppressed with grievances, the legal and constitutional means of redress was by Parliament; a method which they had tried, and tried with some success; and their grievances were almost all redressed, or in a way of being so in a few weeks. But let their objections to the government be what they might, there were no animosities among the people towards each other, that could occasion a resolution of extirpating the Protestants in the hellish manner in which they attempted it. Why were the innocent people, who had entertained them with great demonstrations of love and friendship, to suffer all the cruelties which the most fertile imagination can conceive, if nothing more was intended than to redress their grievances from the government? Their design was evidently, as will appear in the progress of this work, to root out and destroy all the British and Protestants that were settled in Ireland, to restore their religion to its ancient splendour, and to deliver themselves from the subjection under which they had been held for so many ages by the English nation. Though it must be allowed that it is not the business of this history to answer all that is advanced contrary to it by the Catholic Irish writers, but to relate the facts and transactions as they appear on a comparison of the authors on both sides, yet it is the duty of an Historian to appear impartial as well as to be so: And as an account of the motives to this rebellion which is given by those writers, and given within a few years †, is so different from the causes and occasions of it that I have assigned, it seemed necessary that I should be thus particular in the refutation of it; not only to support the truth of the history which has been related, but also, as these are writers of moderation and ability, to avoid the imputation of partiality and any want of candour. In other particulars which may follow, I shall not hold myself obliged to interrupt the thread of the story, and to trespass on the reader's patience, by so minute a discussion; but shall esteem it sufficient in the general to weigh their evidence impartially, and to admit or reject it as it appears to be true or false.

† A dialogue on the Rebellion pr. 1747 and Histo. Memoirs of the rebellion pr. 1757.

CHARLES I.

A. 1641.

The reader has now before him the best and fairest account that can be collected of the Causes and Occasions, the Motives or Provocations, which led to this extraordinary and surprising insurrection: and it may be proper and useful to enlarge the digression yet further, before I proceed with the history, in giving a description of the first contrivers and the principal actors of the tragic scene which is to follow. These characters, which are chiefly taken from the life of the Duke of ORMONDE, MR. CARTE says he borrowed from a manuscript collection of one PLUNKET's, who lived at that time, and "which is compiled with great temper, modesty, candour, and regard to truth." It is the opinion of some historians, taken up from the confession of two or three of the rebels, that the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale,—which comprehends the county of Louth in the province of Ulster, and the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare in the province of Leinster †—though they did not appear publickly in it, were the first that were engaged in this conspiracy. But notwithstanding the testimony of some of the rebels seems to lean that way, yet it is very far from being clear that any other certainty can be drawn from it, than that they were privy to it, and gave it encouragement before it broke out into action. It is questioned indeed by some, whether the design was ever proposed directly to any of the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, because they had always been enemies to the native Irish, and were therefore not likely to join with them in an enterprize for the ruin of the English interest. They were also, it is said, under the influence of some principal Lawyers, who though an active set of men for the redress of grievances in a parliamentary way, are yet averse to war in which their profession is of no use: and whatever esteem their persons might be held in on account of their gravity, and the opinion which was entertained of their knowledge and wisdom, yet they could not propose any advantage to their fortunes in the subversion of the laws and government. But all this fine speculation is destroyed by the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale going as great lengths as any of the ancient Irish in this rebellion in a short time after; which, if this reasoning had held good, they would not have done. There is no doubt therefore, as I have said, that they were privy to this design, and gave en-

† For a further account of it, see the Hist. of Ireland, Introd. p. 11.

couragement to it, though for reasons of prudence they concealed their inclinations, till they saw a little of the success of the first projectors; and these are to be looked for in the province of Ulster, which takes in all the North of Ireland.

CHARLES I.

A. 1641.

The chief of these first conspirators in point of quality was CONNOR MACGUIRE, Baron of Iniskilling. He was the head of the clan of that name in the county of Fermanagh; and was descended of ancestors who had continued loyal to the crown, till one of them revolted in TYRONE's rebellion and forfeited his estate. But the grandfather of the Lord we now write of, in consideration of his services to the King in another rebellion, had the grant of almost a whole barony in the same county, containing six thousand four hundred and eighty acres, and a pension for life of two hundred pounds a year. These lands, with a considerable privilege annexed, and a pension for life of an hundred pounds a year, were by CHARLES the first confirmed to his son, who was at the same time also made a Peer of Ireland. To this estate, and honour, CONNOR Lord MACGUIRE succeeded. But by a very profligate and luxurious way of living he became overwhelmed with debt: and being thus distressed in his circumstances, he was ready for any enterprise that would probably better his fortune; and so of course was open to the temptation of engaging in this rebellion.—If history is philosophy teaching us by example, as no doubt it is, here is an useful lesson then, it must be owned, to the present age; in which luxury and dissipation are at a greater height in these kingdoms than they were ever known in any age before it. Here is the instance of a man led by these means to embark in the most pernicious measures to his country and himself. When once we permit the cravings of vice and luxury to be so importunate, as to make the gratifications of them necessary to our happiness, there is no knowing where we shall be willing to stop: and it is therefore a point of wisdom moral and political, to want nothing, or rather to speak more accurately, to crave after nothing however fashionable, which without injury to our circumstances we cannot possess.

The next, and principal agent and contriver in this rebellion, tho' not in rank, was ROGER MOORE, Esq; of the county of Kildare; a Gentleman of ancient and honourable

CHARLES A. 1641. honourable extraction, whose ancestors had made a considerable figure in that island before the English conquest. He was descended from the principal branch of the O MOORES in the county of Leix; and by intermarriages was allied to very considerable families of the English race. The possessions of his ancestors were now almost all in the hands of the English: and being incited by a desire of recovering them, and of making his fortune, which was indigent enough, in some measure answerable to his descents, he first formed this design of an insurrection, in concert abroad with the Earl of TYRONE; a son of the famous old rebel of that name, and at that time a Colonel in the Spanish service. The outlines of the plot being drawn between them, though perhaps the first hint was given by others, it was the business of MOORE, when he returned to Ireland, to use all the art and pains that were in his power, in order to draw in all the considerable people, both English and Irish, that he thought likely to be won upon, and who could be serviceable in the execution of his design. The first he tried to inflame with the hopes of recovering their ancient grandeur and estates; the last with the danger under which their religion stood with the English Parliament and the Scots; and both with the glory of being the instruments to restore the liberties of their country. Of all the men then in Ireland perhaps MOORE was the best qualified for such a purpose: He was very handsome in his person and exterior figure, had excellent natural parts, good judgment, and the talents adapted to persuasion; affable and courteous in his manner, and extremely agreeable in conversation: He understood human nature, and had a thorough acquaintance with the world; and when he wanted to inspire any one with his sentiments, or to embark them in his measures, he was never at a loss for the proper topicks of discourse to lead them into his power. In short he was a man of fair character, highly esteemed by all who knew him, and in so great repute among the Irish in general for his superior knowledge and abilities, that he was celebrated in their songs; and it was a common expression among them, "God and our Lady be our help, and ROGER MOORE." As full as he was of his project and zealous to promote it all in his power, he was too subtle to impart it to those whom he thought unlikely to join in it; and for this reason he never opened himself about it to his own brother-in-law MR. FLEMING, an English Gentleman of the Pale, and of considerable interest

interest in it : but dissembling of the rebellion after it broke out, the latter being greatly shocked at the barbarities that were committed and the desolation that was threatened to the whole kingdom, and asking whence the rebellion sprung and who could be the author of it, MOORE ingenuously confessed that he was the man who contrived and first began it ; to which the other replied with an oath, that then he found himself mistaken, " for he thought it was the Devil that had begun it." Whether or not MOORE was struck with remorse at this rebuke, or whether his heart relented at the cruelties which he saw were exercised on the English in the province of Ulster, it may be difficult to determine; but it is certain that he used all his influence to put a stop to them, and to establish a regular discipline among the rabble which he commanded. In attempting this at the siege of Drogheda, where he acted as Lieutenant General, he ran the hazard of his life ; and had it not been for SR. PHILLIM O NEIL's interposition, would absolutely have lost it. This rude ungovernable licentiousness in a multitude, which he himself had been the means of spurring up to this rebellion, disgusted him so much as soon made him weary of the undertaking and drove him away to Flanders : And though after the supreme Council was established at Kilkenny—as will be shewn in the following sheets—MOORE returned again to Ireland, yet he was so averse to the bloody measures which were pursued so much beyond his intention, that he never chose to draw his sword any more in that insurrection, and not long after died in that city ; in all probability of a broken heart for the miseries which he had introduced into his native country.—This is another instructive lesson to the men of ambition and party violence ; which shews how dangerous a thing it is to let loose and countenance a mob, who are never to be restrained within the bounds prescribed, but instead of being led, will controul their leaders. Therefore whatever crimes and cruelties are committed in such tumultuary insurrections must lie at the door of those who first incited them ; a sense of which guilt ought to persuade me,—not to passive obedience under tyranny, let me not be mistaken,—but so to govern and restrain our passions, as that our own private pique and disappointments may not urge us to disobedience against legal government, and to involve our country in confusion in order to gratify our revenge.

Colonel PLUNKET, a younger son of Sir CHRISTOPHER PLUNKET

CHARLES I. **PLUNKET** near Dublin, and a great acquaintance of **MOORE's**, was early engaged by him as another conspirator and a principal instrument in this plot. **Sir CHRISTOPHER**, by his own descent and by his marriage, was related to the best and most considerable families of the Pale; by which means his son had a numerous kindred and acquaintance in the province of Leinster, upon whom he was very well qualified to make an impression. The Colonel was brought over to London by his father when he was very young; and having had all the breeding bestowed upon him which the Court of England could afford, a command was procured for him by his father in the army in Flanders, in which he soon distinguished himself, and was preferred. He was a man of good natural parts, and of a pleasant lively turn of wit; accompanied with a politeness and a natural complacency of behaviour, which made his conversation very agreeable to all who knew him. **Mr. MOORE's** wife was **PLUNKET's** cousin german; and that affinity which produced an acquaintance was easily improved by the former into an intimacy and friendship with the latter. **MOORE**, who was a man of depth and design, finding the Colonel to be very vain and an extraordinary bigot, applied so artfully to these defects and failings in his friend, as to bring him entirely into his sentiments and to manage him at his pleasure. To adopt indeed these sentiments, besides his civility to **Mr. MOORE**, we find that **PLUNKET** had another motive; the disagreeable circumstances of his family; for his eldest brother had not only ruined the estate by suing for a share of the inheritance to which he thought his wife intitled, but he was also confined in prison for debt when the Colonel returned home from Flanders. As he was himself a younger brother who had his fortune to make, it was no difficult matter for a man of **MOORE's** address to persuade him, that this could not be done so readily, so suitably to his merit, and on all accounts so advantageously, as by means of an insurrection; in which his military experience would entitle him to a command of considerable rank, and where his services would deserve a very ample recompence.

The other chief conspirator, and indeed the chief agent in this horrid enterprise, was **Sir PHELM O NEIL** of the county of Tyrone, who had also a good estate in the adjoining county of Ardmagh, both in the province of Ulster; and who was the most considerable person of his
name

name in that kingdom. His grandfather SR. HENRY had CHARLES I.
deserved well of the Crown, and had a grant of the whole
territory called "Gage's Country:" but being slain in A. 1641.
the King's service about three years after, it was found by
an inquisition taken of it, that Sir PHELM, then a minor
and very young, was the next heir. Soon after he came
of age, he applied to the Crown for a new grant, in which
he desired that all the lands mentioned in general terms in
his grandfather's patent might be specially named; and on
report of the King's counsel, a new patent was granted by
CHARLES the First, vesting all those estates in Sir PHELM,
in the same ample manner and form which he had desired.
Thus far then he had no complaints to make against the
government; but had obligations to it on his grandfather's
and his own account. He had for sometime resided here
as a student in Lincoln's Inn, where he professed himself
a Protestant; but being a man of no parts, and conse-
quently little improved by his English education, at his
return into Ireland, if not before, he again changed his
religion and once more became a zealous Catholic. With
these mean abilities, and without conduct or discretion,
he entered upon the management of his estate; and run-
ning soon into all the follies and extravagances of a man
of fashion, a heavy debt was contracted on it, which
laid him open to any ill impressions which the other con-
spirators attempted to make upon him. To this may be
added, that the Earl of TYRONE had no children: and
as Sir PHELM was the nearest in blood, and the great-
est in interest among his clan, he was not only in a fair
way of being at the head of his family, but of succeeding
to the title of those vast possessions, and that absolute
power which the O NEILS had antiently been invested
with in the province of Ulster. Flattered with these
hopes, and with the zealous affections of his countrymen,
he embarked warmly in the design as soon as it was pro-
posed to him; and became the most active, vindictive,
and cruel rebel in the kingdom.—These were the principal
conspirators; and it is observable that there is one particular;
how different soever they were in other respects, in which
there is a similarity thro' all their characters;—the distress
of their circumstances occasioned by vice and folly.

The steps which were taken by these conspirators in
order to execute their designs, are set forth with great
exactness by Lord MACGUIRE, in a narrative which he
wrote with his own hand in the Tower, and which he
delivered to the Lieutenant that it might be presented
to

CHARLES I. to the Lords of Parliament in England. There is so minute a relation in it of the beginning and progress of the conspiracy, of the time, the place, and other circumstances relating to the several meetings and consultations of the rebels, the subject of their debates, the resolutions wherein they agreed, and the motives upon which they proceeded, that—long as it is—the reader no doubt will be pleased to see it at full length, before he enters upon the execution of the design; and it being published by authority, as well as bearing the marks of truth, it hath been submitted to on every side as a fair and just account.

A. 1641.

NALSON.

“ Being in Dublin Candlemas-term last was twelve-month—meaning February sixteen hundred forty one—the Parliament then sitting, Mr. ROGER MOORE did write to me, desiring me if I could in that spare time I would come to his house (for then the Parliament did nothing but sit and adjourn, expecting a commission for the continuance thereof, their former commission being expired) and that some things he had to say unto me that did nearly concern me: and on receipt of his letter, the new commission for continuing the Parliament being landed, I did return him an answer that I could not fulfil his request for that present; and thereupon he himself came to town presently after, and sending to me I went to see him at his lodging: and after some little time spent in salutations, he began to discourse of the many afflictions and sufferings of the Natives of that kingdom, and particularly in those late times of my Lord STRAFFORD’s government, which gave distaste to the whole kingdom: and then he began to particularize the suffering of them that were the more antient Natives, as were the Irish; how that on several plantations they were all put out of their ancestors estates; all which sufferings, he said, did beget a general discontent thro’ all the kingdom in both the Natives, to wit, the old and new Irish: and that if the gentry of the kingdom, were disposed to free themselves furtherly from the like inconveniences, and get good conditions for themselves for regaining their ancestors estates, (or at least a good part thereof) they could never desire a more convenient time than that time, the distempers of Scotland being then on foot, and did ask me what I thought of it. I made him answer that I could not tell what to think of it, such matters being altogether out of my element. Then he would needs have an oath of me of secrecy, which I gave him; and thereupon he told me, that he had spoke to the best gentry

gentry of quality in Leinster, and a great part of ^{CHARLES} Conaught, touching that matter; and he found all of them willing thereunto, if so be they could draw to them the gentry of Ulster, for which cause, said he, I came to speak to you. Then he began to lay down to me the case that I was in there, overwhelmed in debt, the smallness of my estate, and the greatness of the estate my ancestors had, and how I should be sure to get it again, or at least a good part thereof; and moreover how the welfare and maintaining of the Catholic religion, which, he said, undoubtedly the Parliament now in England will suppress, doth depend on it. For said he, it is to be feared, and so much I hear from every understanding man, the Parliament intends the utter subversion of our religion; by which persuasions he obtained my consent; and so he demanded if any more of Ulster gentry were in town. I told him that PHILIP REILY, Mr. TIRLOUGH O'NEIL, brother to SIR PHELM, and Mr. MACMAHON were in town; so for that time we parted."

"The next day he invited Mr. REILY and I to dine with him, and after dinner he sent for those other gentlemen Mr. O'NEIL and MACMAHON; and when they were come he began the discourse, formerly used to me, to them; and with the same persuasion, formerly used to me, he gained their consent: and then he began to discourse of the manner how it ought to be done, of the feasibility and easiness of the attempt, considering matters as they then stood in England, the troubles of Scotland, the great numbers of able men in the kingdom—meaning Ireland—what succours they were then more to hope for from abroad, and the army then raised, all Irishmen, and well armed; meaning the army raised by my Lord STRAFFORD against Scotland. First that every one should endeavour to draw his own friends into that act, and at least those that did live in one county with them; and when they had so done they should send to the Irish in the Low-Countries and Spain, to let them know of the day and resolution, so that they might be over with them by that day, or soon after, with supply of arms or ammunition as they could: that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own quarters should rise out that day and seize on all arms he could get in his county, and this day to be near winter, so that England could not be able to send forces into Ireland before May, and by that time there was no doubt to be made but that they themselves should
be

CHARLES I. be supplied by the Irish beyond the seas, who could not miss of help, he said, from either Spain or the Pope; but that his resolutions were not in all things allowed. For first it was resolved nothing should be done, until they had sent over to the Irish over-seas to know their advice, and what hope of success they could give; for in them, as they said, all their hope of relief was, and they would have both their advice and resolution before any further proceedings, more than to speak to and try the gentlemen of the kingdom, every one as they could conveniently, to see (in case they would at any-time grow to a resolution) what to be, and strength they must trust to. Then Mr. MOORE told them that it was to no purpose to spend much time in speaking to the gentry; for there was no doubt to be made of the Irish that they would be ready at any time; and that all the doubt was in the gentry of the Pale, but he said that for his own part, he was really assured when they had risen out, the Pale gentry would not stay long after, at least that they would not oppose them in any thing but be neutrals; and if in case they did, that they had men enough in the kingdom without them. Moreover he said he had spoke to a great man, who then should be nameless, that would not fail at the appointed day of rising out to appear and to be seen in the act, but that until then he was sworn not to reveal him; and that was all that was done at that meeting, only that Mr. MOORE should the next lent following make a journey down into the North to know what was done there, and that he also might inform them what he had done: and so on parting, Mr. PHILIP REILY and I did importune Mr. MOORE for the knowledge of that great man that he spake of; and on long entreaty, after binding us to new secrecy not to discover him till the day should be appointed, he told that it was the Lord of MAYO, who was very powerful in command of men in those parts of Conaught where he lived, and that there was no doubt to be made of him no more than was of himself; and so we parted."

"The next lent following, Mr. MOORE according to his promise came into Ulster, by reason it was the time of assizes in several counties. There he met only with Mr. REILY and nothing was then done, but all matters put off till May following, where we or most of us should meet at Dublin, it being both Parliament and Term time. In the mean time there landed one NEIL O NEIL, sent by the Earl of TYRONE out of Spain to speak with the gentry

gentry of his name and kindred ; to let them know that he CHARLES I.
 had treated with Cardinal RICHELIEU for obtaining succour
 to come for Ireland, and that he prevailed with the Cardinal A. 1641.
 so, that he was to have arms, ammunition, and money, from
 him on demand to come for Ireland, and that he only expect-
 ed a convenient time to come away ; and to desire them to
 be in a readiness and to procure all others whom they
 could to be so likewise ; which message did set on the pro-
 ceedings very much, so that MR. MOORE, MR. REILY, my
 Brother, and I, meeting the next May at Dublin, and the
 same messenger there too, it was resolved that he should
 return to the Earl into Spain with their resolution ; which
 was that they would rise out twelve or fourteen days before
 or after Allhallontide as they should see cause, and that
 he should not fail to be with them by that time. There
 was a report at that time, and before, that the Earl of
 TYRONE was killed, which was not believed by reason
 of many such reports formerly which we found to be false ;
 and so the messenger departed with directions, that if the
 Earl's death were true he should repair into the Low-
 Countries to Colonel OWEN O NEIL and acquaint him
 with his commission from the Earl, whereof it was
 thought he was not ignorant, and to return an answer
 sent by him, and to see what he would advise or would do
 himself therein. But presently after his departure, the
 certainty of the Earl's death was known ; and on further
 resolution it was agreed, that an express messenger should
 be sent to the Colonel, to make all the resolutions known
 to him, and to return speedily with his answer ; and so
 one TOOLE O CONOLLY, a priest, (as I think parish
 priest to MR. MOORE) was sent away to Colonel O
 NEIL. In the interim there came several letters, and
 news, out of England to Dublin, of proclamations against
 the Catholics in England, and also that the army raised
 in Ireland should be disbanded and conveyed into Scotland :
 and presently after, several Colonels and Captains landed
 with directions to carry away those men ; amongst whom
 Colonel PLUNKET, Colonel BIRNE, and Captain BRIAN
 O NEIL came, but did not come altogether ; for PLUN-
 KET landed before my coming out of town, and the other
 two after : wherein a great fear of suppressing of religion
 was conceived, and especially by the gentry of the Pale ;
 and it was very common amongst them that it would be
 very inconvenient to suffer so many men to be conveyed
 out of the kingdom : it being, as was said, very confi-
 dently reported that the Scottish army did threaten never

CHARLES I. to lay down arms until an uniformity of religion were in the three kingdoms, and the catholic religion suppressed :
A. 1641. And thereupon both Houses of Parliament began to oppose their going, and the Houses were divided in their opinions, some would have them go, others not ; but what the definitive conclusion of the Houses was touching the point I cannot tell : for by leave from the House of Lords I departed into the country before the prorogation. But before my departure, I was informed by **JOHN BARNWELL** a friar, that those gentlemen of the Pale and some other members of the House of Commons had several meetings and consultations how they might make stay of the soldiers in the kingdom, and likewise to arm them in defence of the King ; being much injured both by England and Scotland then, as they were informed, and to prevent any attempts against religion : And presently after I departed into the country, and **MR. REILY** being a member of the House of Commons stayed the prorogation, and on his coming into the country sent to me to meet him, and I came to his house ; where he told me that he heard for certain that the former narration of **BARNWELL** to me—for I did acquaint him with it—was true, and that he heard it from several there, and also that **EVER MACMAHON**, made firmly privy to all our proceedings at **MR. REILY**'s, was lately come out of the Pale, where he met with the aforesaid **JOHN BARNWELL** who told him as much ; and he formerly told me moreover that those Colonels that lately came over did proffer their service and industry in that act, and so would raise their men under colour to convey them into Spain and then seize on the castle of Dublin, and with the arms there to arm their soldiers and have them ready for any occasion that should be commanded them ; but that they had not concluded any thing because they were not assured how the gentlemen of the remote parts of the kingdom, and especially of Ulster, would stand affected to that act, and assurance of that doubt was all their impediment. Then we three began to think how we might assure them help and of the assistance of Ulster gentlemen. It was thought one should be sent to them to acquaint them therewith, and they made choice of me to come ; by reason, as they said, that my wife was allied to them and their countrywoman, and would believe me and trust me sooner than other of their parts ; they, or most of them, being of the Pale : And so, without as much as to return home to furnish myself for such a journey, “*volens nolens*,” they prevailed, or rather forced me to come to Dublin to confer with those Colonels, and that

that was the last August was twelvemonth.”—Meaning CHARLES I.
that immediately preceding the insurrection.

“ Coming to town I met SR. JAMES DILLON accidentally, before I came to my lodging, who was one of those Colonel’s; and after salutations he demanded of me where my lodging was, which when I told him we parted. The next day being abroad about some other occasions in town, I met him, as he said, coming to wait on me in my chamber; but being a good way from it he desired me to go into his own chamber being near at hand; and then began to discourse of the present sufferings and afflictions of that kingdom, and particularly of religion, and how they were to expect no redress; the parliament in England intending, and the Scots resolving never to lay down arms until the Catholic religion were suppressed. Then he likewise began to lay down what danger it would be to suffer so many able men as was to go with them to depart the kingdom at such a time: Neither, said he, do their other gentlemen that are Colonels and myself affect our own private profit so as to prefer it before the general good of the kingdom: And knowing you are well affected thereunto, and I hope, said he, ready to put your helping hand to it upon occasion, I will let you know the resolution of those other gentlemen and mine, which is, if we are ready [meaning the conspirators] to raise our men and after to seize on the castle, where there is great store of arms, and arm ourselves. This was the first motion that ever I heard of taking the castle; for it never came into our thoughts formerly, nor, I am persuaded, ever would, if it had not proceeded from those Colonels who were the first motioners and contrivers thereof, for ought known to me; and then to be ready to prevent and resist any danger that the gentlemen of the kingdom like thereof, and help us; for we of ourselves neither are able, nor will do any thing therein without their assistance. I began, according to the directions that were sent with me, to approve of their resolution, and also to let him know how sure he might be of the assistance of those of Ulster. Then he told me, that for my more satisfaction I should confer with the rest of the Colonels themselves, as many as are privy to the action; and accordingly a place of meeting was appointed for that afternoon.”

A. 1641.

“ At the time and place appointed, there met SR. JAMES himself, Colonel BIRNE, and Colonel PLUNKET: and that former discourse being renewed, they began to lay down the obstacles to that enterprize, and how they should be redressed. First, if there should war ensue,

CHARLES I. how there should be money had to pay to the soldiers. Secondly, how and where they should procure succours from foreign parts. Thirdly, how to draw in the Pale gentlemen. Fourthly, who should undertake to surprize the castle, and how it should be done. To the first it was answered, that the rents in the kingdom every where, not having respect whose they should be, due to the Lords and gentlemen thereof, should be collected to pay the soldiers : and moreover they might be sure, nay that there was no doubt thereof, to procure money from the Pope, who gave several promises formerly to my Lord of TYRONE—in case he could make way to come into Ireland—to maintain six thousand men yearly at his own charge ; and notwithstanding my Lord of TYRONE—was dead, yet that he would continue the same forwardness now. To the second it was answered by Colonel BIRNE, that help from abroad could not fail them : for said he, Colonel O NEIL told me that he had, or would procure in readiness—I do not remember which of those the Colonel spake, or whether he spoke positive that Colonel O NEIL had arms, or would procure them—arms for ten thousand men : And moreover said he, I make no great question that if we send into Spain we shall not miss of aid ; for I being in London the last year in the Scots troubles, I was in conference with one of the Spanish ambassadors then there, and talking of their troubles then a-foot, he said, that if the Irish did then rise too and send to Spain, their messengers would be received under canopies of gold. These last words he told me, and some one man of those that were present privately, whose name I cannot call to mind ; neither remember I whether he spoke to them all or no : Then it was thought that when they were both in arms for the defence of the Catholic cause, they would be succoured by the Catholic Princes of Christendom, [Here is an evident mistake in the copy, and the word “both” should be omitted, it being well known that the Scots were not in arms in defence of the catholic cause.] To the third it was answered by Colonel PLUNKET, that he was as morally certain—for those were his words—as he could be of any thing, that the Pale gentlemen would join with them and assist them. For he said, I have spoke to several of them since my landing in the kingdom, and I find them very ready and willing : and withal I have at London spoke to some of the committee, and particularly to my Lord

Lord of GORMANSTON to let them know his resolution CHARLES I.
and they approved it very well."

"All this was not done at the first meeting, but at three or four meetings; and so on the last meeting, it was resolved to the last doubt touching seizing the castle, that Colonel PLUNKET and Colonel BIRN should undertake that task, because they were nearer to it than any other; and also seize on the forts, garrisons, and other places where they think any arms should be, and in particular Londonderry, which should be undertaken by those of Ulster; and then there was a set day appointed for execution thereof, that was the fifth of the ensuing October—this being the latter end of August, or the beginning of September sixteen hundred forty-one, I do not know whether—and every one should make provision to rise out that day. They were named that should first succour them that would take the castle with men presently, namely SR. JAMES DILLON who did undertake to be with them within three, or at most, four days with a thousand men, and so much more should come to them out of the North. For these two Colonels did not intend to use above an hundred men in the surprisal, whereof they were to have twenty good able gentlemen: for they made account that having the castle, they with the artillery would master all the town until they were relieved by men from the country: And because there was a doubt how all this should be done in so short a time, they did appoint that all that were there present should not fail to meet there again the twentieth of September to give an account of all things, as well hopes as impediments; and if on that interview all things should happen to be well, they should go forward, or if otherwise to prolong the execution of it to a more convenient time; and so we parted, every man into the country about his own task."

"In my way home I came to MR. REILY's house, and there I received a letter from SR. PHELM O NEIL, that his Lady was dead and to be buried on the Sunday following—this being on the Saturday—and desiring me in all kindness to come to the burial: and MR. REILY, having received another letter to the same effect, would needs have me go thither—whereunto I was very unwilling, being weary, and withal not provided to go to such a meeting—as well, he said, to prevent any jealousy from the lady's friends, as also to confer with SR. PHELM touching all those proceedings. For neither he nor I spoke

A. 1641.

CHARLES I. to **SR. PHELIM** concerning the matter before, but to his brother **TIRLOCH O NEIL**: and coming thither we found **Captain BRIAN O NEIL** lately come out of the Low-Countries, sent over by **Colonel O NEIL** to speak to, and to provoke those of **Ulster** to rise out in arms, and that he would be with them on notice of their day, the same day or soon after it; and it was asked of the said **Captain** what aid he could send or procure, being but a private **Colonel**, or where he could get any. He replied that the said **Colonel** told him, that he had sent to several places that summer to demand aid, and in particular to **Cardinal RICHLIEU** into **France**, to whom he had sent twice that year, and had comfortable and very hopeful promises from them, and especially from that **Cardinal**, on whom he thought the **Colonel** did most depend; so that there was no doubt to be made of succour from him; and especially when they had risen out that would be a means to the **Cardinal** to give aid. We did the more credit him, in regard of the former treaty between the **Cardinal** and the **Earl of TYRONE**, as formerly is said. For my own part I did, and do believe, that the **Colonel** doth depend on **France** for aid more than any other place, as well for those reasons, as also that **EVER MACMAHON**, formerly mentioned, told me, that presently after the isle of **Rhee's** enterprize—he being then in the **Low-Countries**—did hear for certain, that the **Earl of TYRONE**, together with the **Colonel**, did send into **France** to the **Marshall of France** that was **General of the French forces** at the isle of **Rhee**, to deal with him for procuring of aid to come then for **Ireland**; and that he received an answer from the said **Marshall**, that he was most willing and ready to contribute his endeavours for his furtherance therein; but that he could not for the present answer my **Lord's** expectations, by reason that the **King** had wars in **Italy**, which he thought would be at an end in half a year or little more, and then my **Lord** should not doubt of any thing he could do for his assistance: but these continued a great deal longer; so for that time that enterprize failed. After the burial was done, I gave those gentlemen knowledge of what I had done at **Dublin**, and how I was to retire thither; and then they began to think how they should surprise **Londonderry**, they being near it, but could not then agree in the manner; and so **SR. PHELIM** desired me to take his house in my way going to **Dublin**, and that I should have a resolution to carry with me

me touching Londonderry; and thereupon I parted CHARLES.
home."

A. 1641.

"Soon after I came to Dublin to the fore-appointed meeting of those Colonels; but first I took in my way SR. PHELM O NEIL's house, to be certain what he had done; and his answer was, that he knew that matter could not be put in execution by the fifth of October as was appointed, and that they would make another longer day for it, and he would provide for the taking of Londonderry by that day; and so I came to Dublin to give an account of that was done, and also know what further should be done. I was not two hours in my lodging when MR. MOORE came to me, who knew what was done by those Colonels formerly from Colonel BURN; and told me that the messenger sent to Colonel O NEIL was come with an answer, desiring us not to delay any time in rising out, and to let him know of that day before hand, and that he would not fail to be with us within fourteen days of that day with good aid; also desiring us by any means to seize the castle of Dublin if we could, for he heard that there was great provision in it for war: and MR. MOORE moreover said, that that time was not to be over-slipped, and desired me to be very pressing with the Colonels to go on in their resolution. But on meeting with the Colonels, they were fallen from their resolution, because those of the Pale would do nothing therein first; but when it was done, they would not fail to assist us, as Colonel PLUNKET did affirm: and so by several meetings, it was resolved on by them to desist from that enterprise for that time, and to expect a more convenient time. But before that their resolution, SR. PHELM O NEIL, and the aforesaid Captain BRIAN O NEIL followed me to Dublin to assist, as they said, and advise me how to proceed with that Colonel; but neither they nor MR. MOORE would be seen therein themselves to those gentlemen, but would meet me privately and know what was done at every meeting; alledging for excuse, that I being first employed in that matter, it would not be expedient that they should be seen in it. Moreover they would not be known to be in town but by a few of their friends, until they were in a manner ready to depart the town; at least as long as I was in town, for I left them there. But when I made them acquainted with their determination of desisting from that enterprise, they thought it convenient we should meet

CHARLES I. with MR. MOORE and Colonel BIRN to see what was further to be done concerning the further intention of their own, and according we did send to them that they should meet us; and on that meeting it was, where was only SR. PHELM, MR. MOORE, Colonel BIRN, Captain NEIL, and myself. After long debate it was resolved, that we with all those that were of our faction should go on with that determination that was formerly made, and concluded to rise out; moreover to seize on the castle as the Colonels were purposed; for if it were not for their project and the advice sent by Colonel NEIL we would never venture to surprize it: neither was it ever thought on in all the meetings and resolutions between us before those Colonels did resolve on it; but by reason that the other gentlemen that were privy to those proceedings were not present, the certainty of the time and the manner how to execute it, was put off to a further meeting in the country; and this was resolved in Dublin upon the Sunday at night, being the twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh of September, and the meeting was appointed on the Saturday following at Macalloe, MACMAHON's house in Farney in the county of Monaghan: and thereupon we all left the town; only SR. PHELM staid about some other his private occasions, but did assure his being there at that day; and by reason that at that meeting the gentry of Leinster could not be, considering the remoteness of the place from them, it was thought fit that MR. MOORE should there meet to receive the final resolution and should acquaint them therewith; and in the mean time Colonel BIRN, who had undertaken for Colonel PLUNKET, should inform them of all the intention conceived, and dispose them in readiness against that day that should be appointed."

"On Saturday I came to MR. MACMAHON's house; there met only MR. MACMAHON himself, Captain NEIL, EVER MACMAHON, and myself: and thither that same day came the messenger that was sent to Colonel NEIL, and did report the Colonel's answer and advice "verbatim," as I have formerly repeated from MR. MOORE: And by reason that SR. PHELM, his brother, or MR. PHILIP REILY that were desired to meet, did not meet, we staid that night to expect them; and that night I received a letter from SR. PHELM, intreating us by any means not to expect him till the Monday following, for he had not, nor could dispatch some occasions near-

ly concerning him, but whatever became of them he CHARLES L.
would not fail on the Monday : On the next day after
receipt of the letter, being Sunday, by MR. MOORE's A. 1641.
advice we departed from Colonel MACMAHON's house,
to prevent, as he said, the suspicion of the English there,
—many living near—to Loghrosse in the county of Ard-
magh to Mr. TIRLOCH O NEIL's house—not SR. PHE-
LIM's brother but Son to MR. HENRY O NEIL of the
Fewes, son-in law to MR. MOORE—and left word, that
if SR. PHELM, or any of those gentlemen did come in
the mean time, they should follow us thither ; whither
only went MR. MOORE, Captain O NEIL, and myself,
and there we expected them until the Tuesday subsequent
before any of those did come. On the Tuesday came
SR. PHELM, and EVER MACMAHON ; all the rest
failing to come. MR. MACMAHON's wife was dead
the night before, which was the cause he was not there ;
but I gave his assent to what should be concluded to
therein and to execute what should be appointed him :
And then we five, *viz.* SR. PHELM, MR. MOORE,
Captain O NEIL, EVER MACMAHON, and myself, as-
suring ourselves that those gentlemen absent should both
allow and join to what we should determine, did grow in-
to a final resolution, grounding all or most part of our
hope and confidence on the succours from Colonel O
NEIL, to seize on the castle, and rise out all in one day ;
and the day was appointed on the twenty third of that
month, this being the fifth day of October : Having
regard therein to the day of the week whereon that day
did fall, which was the Saturday being the market-day ;
on which day there would be less notice of people up
and down the streets. Then began a question who should
be deputed for the surprisal of the castle ; and then MR.
MOORE said he would be one of them himself, and that
Colonel BIRN should be another, and what other gen-
tlemen of Leinster they could procure to join with them :
And seeing the castle had two gates, the one the great, the
other the little gate going down to my Lord Lieutenant's
stables—hard by which stables without the castle was the
store-house for arms—they of Leinster would undertake
one gate, and that should be the little gate ; and the great
gate should be undertaken by those of Ulster, and said
he, of necessity one of you both—meaning SR. PHELM
and me—must be there for the mere countenance of the
matter, it being the glory of all our proceedings ; and
all

CHARLES I. all that his speech was well liked of all present. But **SR. PHELM** would be exempted from that employment, and so would I; but then all of them set on me desiring me to be one, alledging for reason that their proceedings and resolutions were very honourable and glorious, it being for religion, and for to procure more liberty for their country, as did, said they, of late Scotland; and that in taking the castle consisted all the glory and honour of the said act: all which should be attributed to them which should be employed therein; and so by consequence all, or most part to be there, being, as they said, the chief in that enterprise: and more **SR. PHELM** said, that he would endeavour to take, or procure others to take Londonderry the same day, and if he should be away that place would not be taken. With these, and many other persuasions, they obtained my consent, and then the Captain offered himself. They began to think what number should be employed in that act, and they concluded on two hundred men, one hundred from each province, for those gates which they were to seize on; of which number **SR. PHELM O NEIL** should send forty, with an able sufficient gentleman to conduct them, and likewise Captain **NEIL** twenty, **MR. MACMAHON**, **MR. REILY**, ten more, and I should bring twenty two. Then began a doubt how they should raise those men and convey them to Dublin without suspicion: and it was answered, that under pretence of carrying them to those Colonels that were conveying soldiers out of the kingdom, [the copy says, "into," but it is evidently a mistake] it might safely be done: And to that purpose **SR. PHELM O NEIL**, **MR. MOORE**, and the Captain had several blank patents with deputations to make Captains to those Colonels, which they sent to those that should send men to Dublin. For the more colour, they bethought of what was to be done in the country that day; and it was resolved that every one privy to that matter in every part of the kingdom, should rise up that day and seize on all the forts and arms in the several counties, to make all the gentry prisoners, the more to assure themselves against any adverse fortune, and not to kill any but where of necessity they must be forced thereunto by opposition—and that those that were appointed for taking of the castle should observe—and in particular the gentry. All their army in Ulster were to take that day Londonderry, which **SR. PHELM** did under-

undertake, and Knockfergus, which they thought SR. CHARLES L. HENRY MAC O NEIL would do; and to that end SR. PHELM's brother TIRLOGH O NEIL should be sent to them; and the Newry which should be undertaken by SR. CONN MACGENNIS and his brothers, for whom SR. PHELM, in regard they were his brothers-in-law—his deceased lady being their sister—did undertake. Moreover it was agreed, that SR. PHELM, MR. REILY, MR. MACMAHON, and my brother, should with all the speed they could after that day raise all the forces they could and follow us to Dublin; but to arm the men, and succour and attend, and garrison the town and castle: And likewise MR. MOORE should appoint Leinster gentlemen to send like supply of men; then there was fear of the Scots conceived, that they should personally oppose themselves, and that would make the matter more difficult; and to avoid which danger it was resolved on not to meddle with them or any thing belonging to them, and to demean themselves towards them, as if they were of themselves, which they thought would pacify them from any opposition: And if the Scots would not accept of that offer of amity but would oppose them, they were in good hope to cause a stir in Scotland that might divert them from them; and I believe the ground for that hope was, that two years before, in or about the beginning of the Scots troubles, my Lord of TYRONE sent one TIRLOGH O NEIL, a priest, out of Spain (and that this I take it was the time that he was in treaty with Cardinal RICHELIEU) to my Lord of ARGYLE, to treat with him for help from my Lord for him to come into Ireland, as was said, for marriage between the said Earl and my Lord of ARGYLE's daughter, or sister—I know not which;—and this messenger was in Ireland, with whom MR. TIRLOGH O NEIL SR. PHELM's brother, had conference; from whom this relation was had. That said messenger went into Scotland, as I did hear from the said MR. NEIL, or from EVER MACMAHON aforementioned, I know not from which of them; but what he did there I could never hear, by reason that my Lord of TYRONE was presently after killed. They were the more confirmed therein, hearing that my Lord of ARGYLE did say—near to the same time as I guess, and when the army was raised in Ireland, as I think—to a great Lady in Scotland—I know not her name, but did hear that she was much embarked in

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CHARLES I. in the troubles of that kingdom, and the questioning how they could subsist against the two kingdoms of England and Ireland—that if the King did endeavour to stir Ireland against them, he would kindle such a fire in Ireland as would hardly or never be quenched: And moreover they knew my Lord to be powerful with the Highlanders, Redshanks in Scotland, whom they thought would be prone and ready to such actions; they for the most part descending out of Ireland, holding the Irish language and manners still; and so we parted.”

“ The next day being Wednesday, from Loughrosse every man went about his own task; and so when I came home I acquainted my brother with all that was done, and what they had appointed him to do; and did like according as they had appointed me send to MR. REILY to let him know as much, and the eighteenth of the same month I began my journey to Dublin: And when I came to Dublin—being the day before the appointed day for putting that resolution into execution there—I met with Captain CON O NEIL, sent out of the Low-Countries by Colonel O NEIL, who was sent, after the messenger sent by us formerly to the said Colonel was by him disappointed of his answer, to encourage us in our resolution and to speedy performance, with assurance of succour; which he said would not fail of the Colonel’s behalf: and for the more certainty of help from him, and to assure us that the Colonel had good hopes to procure aid from others, he said that it was he himself that was employed from him to Cardinal RICHELIEU twice; that some men gave fair promises to assure the Colonel’s expectations, with which he said that the said Colonel was really assured with himself of the Cardinal’s aid; and that he was likewise commanded by the Colonel, upon our resolution of the day, to give notice thereof to him, and that he would be within fourteen days over with them with aid: but he landed nine or ten days before, and meeting with Captain BRIAN O NEIL, who made him acquainted with what was resolved, he did write all the matter to Colonel O NEIL, so as he was sure of his speedy coming; and so he and I came to meet the other gentlemen: And there were met MR. MOORE, Colonel BIRN, Colonel PLUNKET, Captain FOX, and other Leinster gentlemen, a Captain I think of the BIRN’S—but I am not sure whether a BIRN or a TOOLE—and Captain BRIAN O NEIL; and

and taking an account of those that should have been there, it was found that SR. PHELIM O NEIL, and MR. COL. MACMAHON did fail of sending their men; and Colonel BIRN did miss SR. MORGAN CAVENAGH that had promised him to be there, but he said he was sure he would not fail to be that night or the next morning in town: And of the two hundred men there were only eighty present; yet notwithstanding they were resolved to go on in their resolution, and all the difference was, at what time of the day they would set on the castle; and after some debate it was resolved in the afternoon; for they said, if they should take the castle, and be enforced by any extremity for not receiving timely succour out of the country, having them they could not want; and so parted that night, but to meet in the morning to see what was further to be done: And immediately thereupon I came to my chamber, and about nine o'clock MR. MOORE and Captain Fox came to me, and told me all was discovered, and that the city were in arms and the gates were shut up; and so departed from me: And what became of them and the rest I know not, nor think but they escaped; but how, and what time, I do not know, because I myself was taken that morning."

Thus ends the narrative of Lord MACGUIRE: and tho' I have taken the liberty now and then to alter or transpose a word in order to make it more intelligible, yet it is all in his own sense and language; which as the reader must have observed, is not very grammatically expressed, nor accurately connected. But long and tedious as it is, being drawn by one of the principal conspirators, whose authority cannot be suspected, and the facts being stated with as little artifice as there is skill in the composition, I thought it better to give it thus at length in its original dress, than to abridge it, or to change the style. There is a great appearance of a strict regard to truth throughout the whole; and where his memory does not serve him to speak positively, he acknowledges the uncertainty that he is in. But this is in matters of no moment. It may be proper now, before we go any further, to make a few observations on some particular passages which the narrative contains; and which will help to illustrate or ascertain some parts of the following history.

Notwithstanding there is a great appearance of a regard to truth, as I said, in this account, yet it respects only the

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CHARLES I. the facts which came within Lord MACGUIRE's knowledge ; and not the informations which he received from others, in order to encourage one another in the conspiracy. For it is well known to these who are versed in the history of undertakings of this nature, that men have a wonderful facility of imposing upon themselves as well as others : and that the intelligence which they communicate contains often such things as they rather wish might be true than such as they know to be so. The hopes which are even grounded on mere suppositions, in the warmth of their imagination grow up into certainties ; and from the effusions of their own zeal, they conclude the part which others, who are embarked in the same measures, will take. The vanity of some, and the credulity of others, may the design of many to keep up the spirit of the party by it, all contribute to work one another up to look on the success of the enterprise as infallible. In the present case this representation was literally fulfilled, and truth was sacrificed to their passions. In the first conversation which MOORE had with Lord MACGUIRE, he pretended to have spoken to the best gentry and quality of Leinster, and some of Conaught : but this seems to have been an artifice to draw in his Lordship and the gentry of the province of Ulster ; because in the progress of the conspiracy nothing appears to have been then settled or consulted with them. Of the same nature was his intelligence that the Parliament of England intended to suppress the Catholic religion in the three kingdoms ; there being nothing done by them at that time—in February sixteen hundred forty one—which could authorise such an assertion. But it is evident from this narrative, of how great prejudice it was to the Protestant interest then in Ireland, that the army which was disbanded had not been permitted to be sent abroad according to the King's intention, and his engagement to the Spanish Minister. That the majority of the Irish committee then in England who were Papists, and who, if the evidence of Colonel FLUNKET in this narrative is to be credited, knew at that time of this conspiracy, should make a point of detaining so many men trained to arms, whose services they confided in for their grand designs, is no wonder. But that the English Parliament should fall into this snare, and interfere in a matter wherein they had no concern, nor any right to interfere, may should carry their opposition so far as to declare, “ that whosoever shou'd assist in transporting these
Irish

Irish troops should be deemed an enemy to the state," this can be resolved into nothing but a determined resolution to thwart the King in every thing; and at all events to deprive him of the exercise of his power, where they were not consulted and had not given their consent. For, great reason, as they certainly had not to trust him, yet their jealousy on this occasion was manifestly groundless; and it is very certain that most of these soldiers were on the side of the rebels.

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It appears also from this narrative, contrary to the opinion delivered by TEMPLE in his history, that this project was not formed by any of the Lords or Gentlemen of the English PALE; though, contrary also to the judgment of Mr. CARTE, they had been consulted with, and consented to it. But it was merely a plot of the native Irish, to restore their religion to its former splendor, and to recover the estates and power of their ancestors that were forcibly usurped, and in their opinion unjustly occupied, by the English. Whatever cruelties are to be charged upon them in the prosecution of their undertaking—and they are numerous and horrid—yet their first intention we see went no further than to strip the English and the Protestants of their power and possessions, and unless forced to it by opposition, not to shed any blood. But how it could be supposed that so many thousand people were to be deprived of their habitations and estates by force of arms, against the laws, without making any resistance, and without a general carnage, is very difficult to be conceived. The project in short was conserved to about half a score persons till almost the moment of execution; and in a matter as important as this, all was loose and abandoned to the dispositions of fortune, without subordination, without order, and without concert. The party were rendered sanguine by their passions, and desperate by their circumstances; but the enterprise in itself was a mere rope of sand, liable to be broken or untwisted by a thousand accidents, and if it failed in one place, no provision made to redress it, or to improve and strengthen it in another. The whole foundation upon which they built this mighty fabrick of a conquest or revolution seems to have been, that when the Chiefs should declare to their vassals a rising out, as they called it, there was no doubt to be made but that from their attachment to the cause and religion of the old Irish, from their love

CHARLES I. love of rapine, and from their mortal hatred to the English, they would powerfully support their leaders; and that the old English Catholics, when they saw their success, would second their endeavours for a total subversion of the new English interest.

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The secret, it must be owned, was confided to few persons, and might have eluded the discovery of the most vigilant administration. But yet the Lords Justices had sufficient intimations given them of some ill intentions towards the state, and time enough to prevent or to provide against them. If according to their duty they had paid a regard to the King's advice and directions given them in March by **SR. H. VANE**, they ought to have secured and examined the priests and friars who were all the summer following crowding into Ireland in great numbers: And when **SR. WM. COLE** informed them of some uncommon agitation amongst the Lord **MACGUIRE**, **SR. PHELM O NEIL** and others of the old Irish in Ulster, tho' we should allow the excuse for not seizing them which hath been mentioned, which can scarcely be allowed, yet nothing can wipe off the reproach of their negligence and inattention, in not observing the motions of the Colonels and other Officers whom they were particularly charged to watch; whom there was great reason to suspect; who, without any warrant or licence from the King, had arrived just before from abroad, raising men under foreign commissions and marching them to Dublin; and who had in fact so large a share in the conspiracy. But the Lords Justices owed their posts to the governing party in the English Parliament or Council, rather than to the favour and approbation of the King; and they had not therefore that zeal and affection for his service, which might naturally be expected from those who were entrusted with the administration of his affairs. The dark side which has been given of the characters of these men, will prepare the reader for the steps which they took on the discovery of this conspiracy; and by leading us to the opening of the scene of rebellion which we have seen contriving, will naturally put a period to this book.

SR. WILLIAM PARSONS, the first in the commission and the most active in the exercise of the government, was an Englishman of mean extraction; and reading and writing was all the learning he had. With these qualifications, and about forty pounds in money, he went over to Ireland

Ireland to seek his fortune. He began the world in that country in the service of the escheater general; and being of a plodding indefatigable genius, and much addicted to avarice, he was so good a proficient in the arts of making the most of his employment—which is no difficult matter for a man of indifferent parts to do, in an employment which gives opportunity, and when he is not troubled with scruples about the ways of getting it—he soon grew rich. After this he married a niece of the surveyor general; and being employed under him in that post, upon his uncle's resignation succeeded him in it. At the death of his uncle, he obtained another place which he held as commissioner of the revenue; and to this was added in a short time after, the place of a commissioner of the lands escheated or vested in the Crown; by which he procured eighteen hundred acres in the province of Ulster to be allotted him. Thus having the sole care of the admeasurement of the lands as surveyor general, and as commissioner a great influence in the disposal of them, here was a fair opportunity for such a man to amass an immense fortune; and he did not miss it. Tho' great complaints were made against him with too much reason in both these respects, yet he had the art or the good fortune by making his court to BUCKINGHAM the favourite, at the expence of other ministers, to retain his post of surveyor general, and to be master of the court of wards; of which he had been the projector. In this employment he acquired new grants of lands and manors to a very considerable amount; which had made him very obnoxious to all the Irish, and not a little disliked by the rest of the people. He had in his early days imbibed the sentiments of the Puritans; and had all that gravity in his exterior which is often mistaken for true wisdom, of which it is only the semblance. Tho' he owed the posts which had enabled him to amass his riches, and the grants of his estate, to the King's bounty, yet being still as selfish and greedy of wealth as ever, and finding that his Majesty's power was sunk in that of the Parliament, he struck into their measures, and by their recommendation was made one of the Lords Justices.

SR. JOHN BORLASE had been bred a soldier in the wars of the Low-Countries at the beginning of that century; and was a man of a quiet easy nature, of no extraordinary parts, but honest, open, and without design. His behaviour in the commands which had been entrusted to him

CHARLES I. had been unexceptionable; and he had acquired a good share of reputation for his military skill. Therefore when he returned home to Ireland, he was thought a proper man to keep up the discipline of that army; was preferred to a company of foot and a troop of horse; and made Master general of the ordnance. Avarice was not his vice; and having made no great profit by his commissions, his fortune was very moderate. The genius that he had was wholly confined to his profession of arms; and when he was made a Lord Justice, he was grown old, indolent, and inactive; giving himself little trouble about the exercise of his power, and leaving all to the management of his colleague.—These were the men at that time entrusted with the administration of affairs in Ireland; and under these it is no wonder, that with other circumstances concurring, a conspiracy of the kind we have now in view should make such an astonishing progress as we shall see in the following book.

THE



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R E B E L L I O N and C I V I L - W A R

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B O O K I I.

ON the twenty-second of October about nine o'clock at night, MR. OWEN O CONOLLY, a gentleman of Irish extraction, but who had long lived among the English and been bred a Protestant, applied himself to SR. W. PARSONS as one of the Lords Justices, and informed him that there was a great conspiracy then on foot for seizing the castle of Dublin the next day. He gave him the names of the chief conspirators, assured him that they were now in town for the execution of their purpose, and that he had this intelligence from Mr. HUGH MACMAHON who came up that afternoon to assist in it, and with whom he had been drinking very freely. Whether O CONOLLY's ancestors, who were of the old Irish stock, had been dispossessed of their estates by the plantations, or whether there was any affinity or peculiar friendship between him and MACMAHON, that was the motive of confiding such a secret to the former, does not appear.

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TEMPLE.
BORLASE.
COX.
CARTE.
Hist. Mem.
CASTLEHA.
CLAREND.

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But having received a letter from MACMAHON who was a grandson to old TYRONE, and had been Lieutenant-Colonel in the Spanish service—to repair to him at his house in the county of Monaghan, he went thither accordingly: and finding his friend was gone to Dublin, and not knowing the business on which he was sent for, followed him thither. He had there indeed drank so freely with the Colonel, that he could not give his information with accuracy and clearness: and instead of detaining him till he grew sober, and of securing his person as an evidence to proceed upon, the Lord Justice PARSONS sent him back to MACMAHON's lodgings, in order to make a further discovery of the certainty and particulars of the plot. But O CONOLLY, though in liquor, had more sense than the magistrate; and knowing that it was with difficulty and stratagem that he had got away from MACMAHON to make his information, instead of returning to him, chose rather to walk the street, and to content himself with the discovery he had already made. On second thoughts however, SR. W. PARSONS, considering the great importance of the information, sent an order immediately to the constable of the castle to have the gates well guarded; and to the Mayor and Sheriffs to set a good watch in every part of the city, and to detain all strangers whatsoever. These directions being given, he went about ten o'clock to his colleague SR. JOHN BORLASE, to acquaint him of the intelligence he had received, and with the steps he had taken. His colleague had either more understanding than he had, or more attention to the public good. He saw in a moment the error of PARSONS in giving the alarm, and in letting O CONOLLY go; as having no body to punish in case the information should prove false, or if it was true, to make any proof, and to get at more discovery. Some of the servants were therefore dispatched about the town in search of O CONOLLY; and others were sent for such of the Council as were known to be at Dublin, to attend the Lords Justices that night at the house of SR. JOHN BORLASE on College-green. SR. THO. ROTHERHAM, and and SR. ROB. MEREDITH chancellor of the exchequer, were all that came: and just as the watch had taken up O CONOLLY and was carrying him away as a stranger to secure him, one of PARSONS's servants, who was sent to look after him and had seen him at his master's that night came up with them and brought him away. When he
appeared

appeared before the Council, perceiving that his information was not thoroughly credited, he assured them that what he had told the Lord Justice PARSONS was very true; and that if he had the liberty to repose himself a little, his discovery should be clearer and more distinct. Upon this he was ordered to lie down upon a bed in SR. JOHN BORLASE's house, whilst the Council entered upon a consultation about what was fit to be done.

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The effects of sudden events, it is well known are very wonderful; and even men of good sense are often found as unable to conduct themselves properly upon such occasions, as they are unprepared to expect them. The Lords Justices had not been sufficiently attentive to the danger, of which we have seen in the former book they had notice given them more than once, and against which it was their duty to be upon their guard. A discovery therefore when they found themselves upon the brink of ruin so terrified them with its surprise, as betrayed them into blunders, for which nothing but such a confusion and such a panic could be an excuse. In short, if some of the conspirators had not failed in sending their promised quota of men, or if the rest had had courage and resolution enough to make the attempt that was intended with the men they had, in the first moments after they perceived the design was known, the errors and negligence of the Lords Justices would in all probability have proved fatal. But an impartial man must be surprised, to find this conduct, which was merely owing to fright and surprise, imputed by the Catholic writers to the wishing that no discovery had been made, or to an endeavour to suppress it after it had been made. Had the history of this time been wholly silent, the imminent danger to their own lives and properties from an insurrection of this kind is a sufficient refutation of such a charge. Neither is there the least shadow of proof, from the history of that country or of this, that there was any combination—as those writers suggest—between the Puritans of both kingdoms, to have at first lighted up, and afterwards spread abroad the flames of this rebellion.—When O CONOLLY had somewhat recovered himself from his confusion, occasioned partly, as he said himself, from the horror with which he was struck at the plot which had been discovered to him, and partly with his drinking too much with MACMAHON that he might more easily get from him, he confirmed all that he had before related, with an addition

CHARLES I. of these particulars : " That he came to town this evening at six o'clock, and going directly to the lodgings of **MACMAHON** whom he found at home, they went together to the Lord **MACGUIRE's**, but his Lordship not being within, they staid there and drank a cup of beer ; when he was informed by **MACMAHON** " that great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen of the Irish Papists would be in town that night, who with himself had determined to take the castle of Dublin, and possess themselves of all his Majesty's ammunition there to-morrow morning : that they intended first to batter the chimnies of the said town, and if the city would not yield, to batter down the houses, and so to cut off all the Protestants that would not join with them : that the Irish had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom to destroy all the English inhabiting there to-morrow morning by ten o'clock ; and that in all the sea-ports and other towns in the kingdom all the Protestants should be killed this night, and that all the posts that could be could not prevent it." Upon this information he moved his friend to forbear being concerned in this business, and to discover it to the government that he might save his own estate : but his answer was " that he could not help it ; that they did owe their allegiance to the King and would pay him all his rights, but that they did this for the tyrannical government which was over them, and to imitate Scotland who got a privilege by that course." When he was returned from Lord **MACGUIRE's** to **MACMAHON's** lodgings, the latter swore that he should not go out that night, but should go with him the next morning to the castle ; and said if this matter were discovered somebody should die for it. Upon hearing him say this, **O CONOLLY** feigned a necessity of going down to ease himself ; and tho' he left his sword as a pledge of his return, **MACMAHON** sent his man down with him : but coming into the yard, and finding an opportunity, he leaped over a wall and two pales, and so came to **SR. W. PARSONS**.

This is the substance of the examination, and almost in the same words, which was taken upon oath that night before the council : and before I go any further I shall make this observation on it, which is also applicable to many other examinations on both sides in this history ; that no stress is to be laid upon what is deposed to have been said by some of the English or the Irish. For tho' these evidences may be allowed justly enough to prove that

that such things were said, yet they cannot fairly be admitted to prove—what all the historians of this rebellion bring them to prove—that the chiefs of the English or the Irish intended to act in the very manner, which, in the hearing of these witnesses, the others had reported. For instance in the case before us; we see that MACMAHON went much beyond what the principal conspirators had determined, in affirming that all the English were to be destroyed by ten o'clock the next morning, and all the Protestants in the sea-ports and towns should be killed that night: Whereas it appears by Lord MACGUIRE's narrative, that no lives were to be taken away unless occasioned by an opposition; and that the general rising out was not to be in any part of the kingdom till the next day. But it is no uncommon thing for men who are engaged in such criminal combinations, to talk in very hyperbolical strains of terrors past and to come; in order to make sure of their confederates, or to convert others to their enterprise.

If the Lords Justices and Council had not been struck with a pannick upon this examination, it was their business to send, without losing a moment, an order to seize the persons of Lord MACGUIRE and MACMAHON, of whose lodgings O CONOLLY had informed them. But instead of this, they contented themselves with setting a watch upon those houses; by which means, and by PARSON's imprudently giving the alarm, the report of a discovery had taken air; and MOORE, PLUNKET, BIRN, and all the other chiefs made their escape. In short, of the great numbers that came up out of several counties in order to seize on the castle and city of Dublin, what with the terror and confusion of the Council which deprived them of a right presence of mind, and what with the negligence or connivance of the inhabitants, there were not above thirty taken, and those mostly servants and low people; the men of fortune having friends enow in the town either to conceal them or to assist in their escape. Nor was much greater care taken to secure those that had been seized and brought before the Council; two of whom, a servant of SR. PHELM O NEIL, and PAUL O NEIL a priest who had been an active man in the conspiracy, found means to get away. The time which should have been employed in a speedy exertion of their power, was thrown away in deliberating how they should exert it.

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Indeed the design which they had to defeat, it must be owned was of vast importance, as being very dangerous in its consequence if not defeated, and yet not difficult in its execution. The number of Papists to Protestants was more than ten to one in the city, and not a single company of the army in it. For as it had been objected to the Earl of STRAFFORD that he had billeted soldiers in Dublin, contrary to a pretended meaning of a clause in the charter, tho' it had been practised by all former Deputies and was a measure necessary, so the present Lords Justices, either to give a sanction to that complaint, on to shew how well they could govern in a different manner, distributed the troops they had into other quarters. Unguarded however thus as it was, there were at this time in the castle fifteen hundred barrels of powder, match and bullet proportionable, arms for ten thousand men, and thirty-five pieces of artillery in the arsenal adjoining, with all the necessary equipage belonging to it: and had the rebels made themselves masters of the castle and of these arms and ammunition, it is probable they would soon have become masters of the kingdom.

But what did the Lords Justices and Council do in this situation? They sate up all night in consultation: and it was not till five o'clock on the next morning that they sent to seize MACMAHON and Lord MACGUIRE; and not till the latter had for several hours had notice from MOORE, as we have seen at the end of his Lordship's narrative, that the conspiracy was discovered, the gates guarded, and the city in arms. MACMAHON and his servant were taken in their own lodgings, where at first they drew their swords and made some little resistance; but finding themselves overpowered, they soon submitted and were brought before the Council. There was but little difficulty in bringing the master to confess the plot; not out of any fear, or sense of guilt, but as an action in which he thought it to his reputation to have been concerned. He told them "that all the forts and strong places in Ireland would on that day be taken; that he with the Lord MACGUIRE, Colonel BURN, Captain BRIAN O NEIL, and several other Irish gentlemen were come up expressly to surprize the castle of Dublin; and that twenty men out of each county in the kingdom were to be there to join them; that all the Lords and gentlemen in Ireland that were Papists were engaged in this plot; that what was that day to be done in other parts of the

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the country, was so far advanced by that time, as it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it. He added moreover, it was true they had him in their power, but he was sure he should be revenged." After tracing Lord MAC GUIRE from one house to another, he was taken at last by the Sheriffs at an obscure house in a cockloft in disguise. At his lodgings were found some hatchets with the handles newly cut off, many daggers, and several hammers: but when he was brought before the Council, he denied every thing, except that he had heard of this conspiracy in the country and ought to have informed them of it; but when he heard of it, or from whom, he would not discover then, nor till six months after.

The noise of this conspiracy began by this time to be spread abroad confusedly all over the city; and intelligence was brought to the Council, that great numbers of strangers had been observed to come to town the night before and very early that morning in great parties several ways; and finding the gates shut had most of them set their horses in the suburbs. Wherefore the Lords Justices and Council having committed Lord MAC GUIRE and MAC MAHON to the custody of the constable of the castle, their Lordships drew up a proclamation; commanding all men not dwelling in the city or suburbs to depart within an hour upon pain of death, and making it alike penal to those who should harbour and conceal them. This proclamation being read by the Sheriffs in proper places, and the commitment of the two chiefs above mentioned, and of some others being divulged, which shewed the plot to be discovered, the strangers soon disappeared. The Council were now joined by six more of their body, among whom was SR. FRAN. WILLOUGHBY governor of the fort of Galway; which he had made one of the compleatest fortifications in that kingdom. Having been sent for from thence a little before by the Lords Justices, he arrived at his house in the suburbs of Dublin in the preceding night. But he had not perceived, either at Galway, or in any part of the road, the least disposition in the inhabitants to an insurrection; nor did he entertain the most distant suspicion of any hazard or insecurity to his person. Intending therefore the next morning to wait on the Lords Justices, he was infinitely surprised to meet with the gates of the city shut, and to learn that the keys had been carried to SR. JOHN BORLASE's house, where the Council had sat up all the night in consultation. Thither

CHARLES I. suffered to march upon any such pretence. Given at his Majesty's castle of Dublin, the twenty-third of October
A. 1641. sixteen hundred forty-one.

This proclamation, signed by eight of the Council, was immediately printed, and sent by express messengers to the nobility and gentry in several parts of the kingdom to disperse and publish; with hopes that it might contain such as had not declared themselves within the bounds of their duty and obedience to the King. On the same day at twelve o'clock at night, Lord BLANEY came to town with the news of the rebels seizing his house at Castle-Blaney in the county of Monaghan with two hundred men, and making his Lady, and children, and servants prisoners; also a house belonging to the Earl of ESSEX, and another of SR. HEN. SPOTSWOOD's in the same county with two hundred men. At the last place, there being a little plantation of British, they plundered the town, and burnt divers houses, with several adjacent villages; robbing and spoiling the English Protestants, and leaving the Papists as well as the Irish unmolested. On Sunday morning at three o'clock, intelligence came from SR. ARTH. TYRINGHAM, that the Irish had the day before broken up the King's store of arms and ammunition at Newry; where they had lain for many years, and where they found fourscore and ten barrels of power. Being furnished thus with arms and ammunition, they put themselves under the command of SR. CON MACGENNIS and one CREELY a monk; and plundering the English there disarmed the garrison. From the intelligence given by Lord BLANEY and SR. A. TYRINGHAM, in which there is no mention made of any murders, Abbé GEOGHGAN very ingeniously draws a conclusion, that none such were committed in Ulster. But he does not inform his readers that their intelligence came away in a few hours after the insurrection had broken out; neither had they opportunities of knowing what was done in other parts of the country.

On Sunday morning the twenty-fourth, the Lords Justices and Council met again in the castle, and issued orders to draw seven troops of horse to Dublin as a further strength; in case the enemy should march thither and they should be obliged to give them battle. They also dispatched letters to the Presidents of the provinces of Munster and Conaught, and to the Sheriffs of the five counties of the Pale, in order that they should consult on the best ways and means for their own preservation. On the same day

day, the Lords GORMANSTON, NETTERVILL, FITZ-CHARLES. WILLIAM, and HOWTH, and the next morning the Lords KILDARE, FINGALL, DUNSANY, and SLANE, all of them noblemen of the English Pale, repaired to the castle, and declared to the Lords Justices and Council that they had not before heard any thing of the conspiracy; that the Council might depend on their loyalty to the King and their concurrence with the state, but that they had no arms wherewith to defend themselves or to annoy the enemy. In answer to this the Council told them, that they would willingly supply them with arms as they desired, relying entirely upon their fidelity to the Crown, but they were not then sure they had enow for the guard of the city and castle: however they supplied such of them as lay most in danger with a small proportion of arms and ammunition for the defence of their houses, lest they should imagine that the Council had any jealousy or suspicion of them. At the same time, they directed them to be very diligent in sending out spies to watch the motions of the rebels, and to make all the discoveries which they could for the information of the government; which they readily promised to do, and so departed.

Amidst these distractions, the Lords Justices and Council, recollecting that the Parliament had been adjourned to the middle of November, and that Michaelmas term was just at hand, "both which would draw a great concourse of people of all ranks to Dublin, and under the pretence of those occasions might give the rebels an opportunity of executing new designs to the further danger of the state" they thought it necessary to prorogue the Parliament, and to direct the term to be adjourned to the first day of Hilary, except in the court of Exchequer; where the Judges might sit for the more speedy collecting the rents due to the Crown. Having taken these measures on Monday the twenty-fifth, the Council sent a letter to England the same day to the Earl of LEICESTER the Lord-Lieutenant, with an account of every thing which is above related; and informing him further, "that in a case of this nature where all their lives and fortunes, and above all, his Majesty's power and regal authority were at stake, they must vary from ordinary proceedings; not only in executing martial law as they should see cause, but also in putting some to the rack to find out the bottom of this treason and the contrivers of it, which otherwise they fore-
saw

CHARLES I. saw would not be done." In the same letter, they observe "that if the conspiracy be so universal as MACMAHON had said in his examination, namely, that all the counties in the kingdom had conspired in it, then indeed they should be in high extremity, considering their want of men and money, and arms; and must depend on aid from England for their present supply with all possible speed, especially money, of which they had none; nor was money to be borrowed there." From this view of their condition they imagine his Lordship would see how necessary his presence amongst them was for the better guiding of the affairs of the King and kingdom; and that the Parliament in England should be moved immediately to advance a good sum of money to be sent over directly, in order to prevent an expence of blood and treasure in a long continued war: but if his Lordship should delay his departure for any time, they desire him to appoint a Lieutenant-General to command their forces." These, they acquaint him, consist only of two thousand foot and a thousand horse; and are so dispersed in garrisons about the country, as that if they were to be drawn together, the safety of the places where they lie would not only be endangered by their absence, but by coming together in such small numbers would be liable to be cut off in their march: nor indeed had they money to pay the soldiers to enable them to leave their garrisons. This letter to the Earl of LEICESTER, signed by the two Lords Justices and thirteen of the Council, was sent over by O CONNOLLY who had given the information of the conspiracy; and in a postscript, signed by SR. W. PARSONS alone, he is recommended "as very worthy of a recompence for his faith and loyalty expressed in this business to his own extreme hazard; which they beseech his Lordship may be taken into consideration in England, in such manner as that his Majesty's royal bounty may extend to him and his posterity." A dispatch of the same nature with this, was at the same time sent to the King then at Edinburgh, by SR. HEN. SPOTSWOOD, who went with it by sea to Scotland.

These informations to the supreme authority in the state having been sent away, the care of the Council was next employed in the further security of the city and the parts adjacent; wherein they met with many difficulties from the want of men and money. To this purpose they sent letters to the nobility and gentry in the province of Leinster,

ster, as they had done before to those of Munster and Conaught, and to all the counties to which messengers could pass; giving them notice of the discovery of the plot, and directing them to provide in the best manner they could for their own safety and the defence of the country round them. Another express with the same intelligence was sent to the Earl of ORMONDE, then at his house at Carrick in the county of Tipperary almost fourscore miles from Dublin, desiring him to repair thither immediately with his troop of horse. For tho' the castle was tolerably secured in the manner which hath been related, yet the numbers of despoiled and naked English which were every hour now arriving with the horrid tales of the cruelties that they had endured, had struck such a terror among the well affected inhabitants of the city, that they expected every minute when their own turn would come.

These terrors were greatly aggravated by the rumours that were spread of a sudden approach of a great number of rebels out of the adjacent counties; some pretending that they were discerned already marching down from the mountain side within view of the town: and though some of the council went upon the platform of the castle in order to be ascertained of the fact, or to contradict it, which they did, yet so powerful is imagination when possessed by fear, that several would not be persuaded but that they saw the motions of the men as they marched along. On the back of this rumour another was spread about, that ten thousand rebels were assembled in a body at the hill of Tarah about sixteen miles from Dublin, and that they intended to march without delay and to surprise it. It is easy to conceive that such rumours as these, some of which no doubt were raised and propagated with an ill design, must exceedingly encrease the fears and distractions of the people; already at a great height from what they had seen and heard among the sufferers out of the country, and who were multiplying every hour. Nor were the common people the only persons who were thus terrified: for as they were running up and down the streets, communicating their intelligence to one another and mutually adding to their terror, some swords were drawn upon a slight accident about seven o'clock: a gentleman of distinction perceiving this at a distance repaired in a great fright to the Council sitting then at the castle, which he pretended to have reached with some difficulty, and assured them that

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CHARLES I. that the rebels had actually possessed themselves of a good part of the town, and came then with great fury marching along the street which leads directly towards the castle. But **SR. FRAN. WILLOUGHBY** the governor, letting down the draw-bridge and reconnoitring with his guard, soon found the alarm to have no other foundation than what has been mentioned. In this critical situation, many who consulted with nothing but their fears, and who preferred their own particular safety before any other consideration, laid aside all thoughts of defence, and were for retiring with their effects to England: others, who were detained by contrary winds in the harbour, chose rather to endure all extremities on shipboard than to hazard themselves on shore. Even some Scotch fishermen, who lay with their vessels within the bay in great number catching herrings, and who had with great forwardness offered the government to land five hundred men and to enter into arms for their defence, were no sooner accepted than they were terrified with a false alarm, and suddenly in the night put out to sea.

There remained at this time embarked within the harbour of Dublin, four hundred Irish soldiers levied with his Majesty's consent, under the command of Colonel **BARRY** for the service of the King of Spain; and who would have been sailed long ago, if they had not been stopped by order of the English Parliament, as before mentioned. The inconvenience of this order to the state of Ireland was now very apparent; as these troops were become a terror to the Protestant inhabitants of the city, and as the Council were perplexed to dispose of them in such a manner as to prevent their doing mischief when they were landed. Colonel **BARRY** was gone into the country, on the evening on which the discovery of the conspiracy had been made; and though the men were in great extremity on shipboard for want of provisions, having exhausted the store they had taken in when the embargo was laid on, yet there was no order nor authority how they were to be supplied. For the government to permit them to land, seemed to be adding so many instruments of mischief to those they already had to encounter with: and therefore one of the King's frigates lying in the harbour, the *Captian* was ordered to prevent their disembarking, which he did till it was evident they must all be starved; and then the Council consented to their landing, on condition that none of them should approach or enter the city.—After
having

having made these men their enemies by almost starving them, they took care by this means of the safety of their own persons; but they let them loose upon the country, thus provoked, instead of incorporating them with their other troops; and most of them accordingly joined the rebels. As to TEMPLE's imputation, of bringing these men together just before the time appointed for the breaking out of this plot, to a design and contrivance that they might assist in the execution of it, when they would have been in Spain at that time if they had not been prevented, this is ridiculous and absurd: but it shews to what a degree party prejudice and hatred will mislead the understanding against the evidence of facts.

CHARLES I.
A. 1641.

The city was not only in a poor state of defence from the craziness of the walls, the great extent of its suburbs, and the general weakness of the place, but also much more in respect of the ill affections of its inhabitants, most of which were Papists: and these were so deluded by the suggestions of their priests, as to do all that lay in their power to promote a work which they believed to be intended only for the resettlement of their religion and the recovery of their liberties. To them it was therefore owing that the principal conspirators were privately conveyed away when the plot was first discovered; by them many of the rebels who came out of the country were secretly entertained; and from them not only relief, but ammunition, and intelligence of what was doing there, were also sent to the enemy. It is not then to be wondered at that they should shew no disposition to assist the government in any shape. For when the Mayor and aldermen were sent for, and the Council, laying before them the great necessities of the state and the danger of the kingdom, desired to borrow a sum of money of them, which should be repaid out of the first supply that was received from England, after a solemn consultation among themselves, the answer was that they were not able to furnish above forty pounds, and part even of that must be in cattle. The Council perceiving themselves in this ill situation from the inhabitants, in order to prevent others from joining with them, issued out a proclamation for the discovery and removal of all such as did or should come and continue at Dublin without just cause: And yet that they might not irritate the ill humours of the Irish, no

CHARLES I. punishment was afflicted on those who did continue, and of several of whom they had sufficient cause to be jealous; and others who were brought before them and convicted of holding seditious language, were left unpunished. But this was certainly false policy; and it had been better not to publish the proclamation at all, than to permit it to be contradicted openly with impunity, and thereby to bring their authority into contempt.

A. 1641.

Within two or three days after their first attendance, the Lords of the Pale came again to the Council board with a petition; wherein they set forth the deep sense they had of an expression in the late proclamation issued out on the discovery of this conspiracy, intended, as it is there said, by some evil affected IRISH PAPISTS; which words they feared might be mis-interpreted, and a construction put upon them which might reflect upon their persons as comprehended in them. When men who are not accused are very officious to exculpate themselves it is a strong symptom of guilt. The phrase "evil affected Irish Papists" indeed was general; but it no way comprehended them if they were innocent and if they were guilty there was no pretence for this petition: it served however, for what no doubt it was brought, as a handle of discontent and of quarrel with the administration. Wherefore the Lords Justices and Council thought fit to descend so far to their satisfaction, as not only to assure them of the clearness of their intention towards them, but also, that it might appear to the whole kingdom that they did not entertain the least jealousy of their Lordships, the Council caused another proclamation to be published by way of explanation of the former; which after the preamble is as follows:

We do therefore, to give them full satisfaction, hereby declare and publish to all his Majesty's good subjects in this kingdom, that by the words IRISH PAPISTS, we intended only such of the old mere Irish in the province of Ulster, as have plotted, contrived, and been actors in this treason, and others who adhere to them; and that we did not any way intend or mean thereby any of the old English of the Pale nor of any other parts of this kingdom; we being well assured of their fidelity to the Crown, and having experience of their good affections and services of their ancestors in former times of danger and rebellion: And we further require all his Majesty's loving subjects, whether Protestants or Papists, to forbear upbraiding matter of religion one against the other; and that upon pain of his Majesty's

Majesty's indignation. Given at his Majesty's castle CHARLES I.
of Dublin the twenty-ninth of October sixteen hundred
and forty-one. A. 1641.

Signed by Nine of the Council.

It being apprehended that it might be dangerous in a time of such distraction to admit such a multitude of suitors of all sorts into the castle as had occasion daily to attend on the council board, the Lords Justices transferred the place of their meeting in council to Cork house; tho' their persons were there exposed continually to danger, not indeed then known, from the confident resort of several Lords and Gentlemen in great numbers, who within few days after declared themselves and joined the rebels. This opportunity however was luckily not taken: for there was no great difficulty to make away with the Lords Justices and Council at that house, the majority of the city and suburbs being on their side, and by that means to have brought all things into such confusion as would soon have given them the upper hand. But these people being then entirely unsuspected, the care of the Council was to secure the castle, in which they apprehended their own safety principally consisted: And from the intelligence which they received of the rebels carrying all before them in the North, they thought it expedient to furnish the castle with provisions, that it might be enabled to endure a siege; in case they should be obliged to leave the town, through the treachery of those within, or through the forces of those without who might attempt to surprize it. But tho' this was a work highly necessary in itself, and at that time essential to the safety of the whole kingdom, yet how to perform it without money was a task of no little difficulty. This task however was imposed by the Lords Justices and Council on SR. JOHN TEMPLE, Master of the rolls, and one of their body—the historian of this rebellion so often referred to in this work—and he executed it with great ability and dispatch. There was no occasion for him to add to the fears and distractions of the well affected, nor to heighten the apprehensions which they had of their present danger; but of these he artfully took an advantage. He sent immediately for some of the chief Protestant Merchants, and condoling with them very pathetically on the great necessities and distresses of the state, the imminent danger of the town, and of their own, and of the public safety, he recommended their in-

CHARLES I. instantly depositing in the castle as a place of security such of their provisions as they had lying by them in unsafe places in the city. The impression had its effect; and the project took place without the least delay. The Merchants were but too well convinced of the common danger, and that their safety could not survive the ruin of the castle: And therefore what with their good affections to the service, and what with a prudential care to secure their property, they brought in immediately great quantities of beef, and herrings, and corn; enough indeed not only to victual the castle for many months, which for want of money and credit could not otherwise have been provided for, but which proved of excellent use afterwards in maintaining all the army which was for a long time quartered in the city. The Master of the rolls had assured the Merchants, that in case it should be found necessary for the public service to make use of their provisions, that he would see that a restitution should be made in kind to the several owners, or the value paid in money: and this engagement he made good in a few months afterwards, by bills on the chamber of London in pursuance of an order from the English Parliament. The castle being thus supplied amply with provisions, the next care was to dig and clear out an old well within its walls, that had long since been stopped up, and to lay in all other necessaries fit for a siege; which being effected gave great comfort and security to all the Protestants and English.—It will now be proper therefore to leave the proceedings at Dublin, and to give the reader a view of the rise and progress of the rebellion in the several counties.

Notwithstanding the discovery which had defeated the design upon the castle, yet this was not known at any distance: the next was the day agreed upon for the general insurrection, and the surprisal of all the forts and garrisons in the province of Ulster; and the rebel chiefs accordingly having divided their forces, one of the parties surpris'd one castle or garrison in which there were companies of foot or troops of horse belonging to the army, whilst another effected the same design at other places according to their combination. In these achievements their progress was so rapid, that in a weeks time they got possession of all the towns, forts, castles, and gentlemen's houses of Protestants and English, within the counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, Cavan, Ardmagh, Londonderry,

Londerry, Monaghan, and half the county of Down; except the cities of Londonderry, Colerain, the town and castle of Iniskilling, and some other castles and places which were at first well defended, but for want of relief surrendered into their hands. SR. PHELM ONZEL, one of the principal conspirators, led the way; and the base and cowardly treachery with which he set out, so characteristic of the man, was a sure presage of every thing which followed. The fort of Charlemont was a very considerable and important place in those days, when the country was full of woods and passages that were difficult, because it commanded a pass over the Black-water in the great northern road. The Lord CHARLEMONT formerly master of the ordnance, who had served with reputation in the war against TYRONE, but was now very old, was governor of the fort as well as proprietor of the land, and had his company of foot there in garrison. SR. PHELM, living in his neighbourhood and in good correspondence with him, sent him word that he would come and make merry with him that day; when he was accordingly well received, and as the manner of the Irish is, very jovially entertained, with the company which he brought with him as usual upon such occasions. Such a feast as this was a sort of notice to the country to come in: and many of SR. PHELM's followers, in order, as it was pretended, to partake of the good cheer and hospitality of the noble Lord, repaired to the castle in different parties in the afternoon, when the chief observing his men to be strong enough, on a sudden seized on his Lordship and the family that were in the room with him; as his followers did on the soldiers who were making merry in the fort, and had laid aside their arms not in the least suspecting any enemy. In this surprise, the whole company were disarmed or taken prisoners; and the same night SR. PHELM took the castle of Dungannon. Being thus furnished with arms which they took at these and other forts, and with the powder they seized at Newry, mentioned before, they became masters of the open country with great ease: for the common Irish rising universally with their chiefs, in hopes of enriching themselves with the plunder of the English, against whom they breathed utter extirpation, there was no want of men.

It appears from the examination of Dr. HEN. JONES who was a prisoner with the rebels, that in the beginning of October there was a meeting of the heads of the Romish clergy and laymen of their faction at the abbey of

CHARLES I. Multifarnam in the county of Westmeath ; where, among many other things there debated, was the course which should be taken with the English and other Protestants in the ensuing insurrection. Men of different dispositions were of different sentiments : some were only for their extirpation without taking away their lives, as the King of Spain had served the Moors, which had redounded much to his honour ; and alledged that the same usage of the English, to whom many even there present owed obligations at least for their education, would be of advantage to their cause in England and in other parts : but if a contrary course were taken and they were put to death, besides the curse it would draw from heaven upon their enterprize, it might justly provoke the people of England to take a severe revenge upon them when it was in their power. On the other side, it was said to have been false policy in the King of Spain not to massacre all the Moors, for which his own dominions and all Christendom had suffered to that day : nor would it be less dangerous to expel the English, who might return again with swords in their hands, and being exasperated by that severity and by the hopes of recovering their former possessions, would be far more revengeful than strangers not injured who might be sent against them ; and therefore that a general massacre was the safest and readiest way to free the kingdom from such fears. Others amongst them inclined to a milder method than either of these ; neither to extirpate nor to murder them, but to take possession of their estates, and to imprison their persons.

It must be observed that Lord MACGUIRE takes no notice at all in his narrative of this meeting at the abbey of Multifarnam ; and we may presume therefore was neither present at it nor had heard any thing of it ; nor does any determination appear to have been made there of this important point. There is no doubt but that Dr. JONES had the above account, as he hath deposed, from a Franciscan friar, one of the guardians of the order at this abbey, and present at the consultation ; but it would weigh no more with me, for a reason given before, than many other parts of the Doctor's examination relating to what had been said by some Popish priests some time before the rebellion, if the event had not corresponded exactly with the account and confirmed the truth of it. For in some places the English and Protestants were only
robbed

robbed of their goods and clothes, and turned out of their houses, which were destroyed or burned, and so left exposed to cold and hunger. In other places their persons were only restrained, after their houses were plundered and spoiled of every thing;—perhaps kept for ransom, or exchange of prisoners, or to procure a pardon for their other crimes;—and many were sent under convoy to the English quarters. Through the humanity of PHILIP O REILY the latter was the case particularly in the county of Cavan; in which fewer and less horrid cruelties were exercised, than in any others of the province of Ulster. As to the murders that were committed in the first week of the rebellion, if we say with the Protestant writers that there were great numbers, we shall speak, by all that I have seen, without authority: and if we affirm with the Popish writers, that there were not above seventeen persons killed at the beginning of this insurrection, we shall conclude against evidence and probability. But throughout this whole affair, not a single writer that I have seen observes dates with any accuracy. For instance, how is it possible to have a precise idea of the time intended by these last mentioned writers, by the “beginning of this insurrection?” Nor is TEMPLE less general, nor more decisive, when he says, “that then—meaning Sunday the twenty fourth—“the sad relations of burning, spoiling, and horrible murders committed within the province of Ulster began to multiply;” whereas it appears by the account sent on the next day by the Council to the Lord-Lieutenant, that at that time they had not heard of any murders that had been committed. But as these historians have not observed any accuracy in their dates, so for want of a precision in their language, and perhaps their ideas, a greater disagreement may appear to be in their several accounts of the beginning of this transaction, than what there is perhaps in reality. In order to make TEMPLE consistent with the relations given by authority—of which he himself was one who signed them—we must either transfer his date to four or five days further than he hath placed it, or he must have admitted into his idea or phrase of “murders,” the turning them naked out of their houses in such cold frosty weather, and so driving them through woods and bogs up to the mountains, whereby multitudes of them perished. This indeed in fact was a cruel kind of taking away their lives, and was true from the first

CHARLES I. hour of the insurrection: but this not being Murder in the strict and primary sense of the word, the Catholics probably screen themselves under it; and **TEMPLE** himself in another place hath said, "that the Irish at the very first, for some few days after their breaking out, did not in most places murder many of them." But though the charge of murdering great numbers at the beginning of the insurrection may be thus evaded by the Catholics, yet it appears by evidence upon oath, that on the very first day of the insurrection, the Minister of Donoughmore was murdered by the Donnellies, and on the second, that **ROGER MACGUIRE**, brother to the Lord of that name—after getting by treachery into Castle-Skeagh, seizing the Money of **Mr. MIDDLETON**, burning the public records, and compelling him to acknowledge the Mass—caused him, his wife, and children to be hanged, and a hundred at least in that town to be murdered. Nay it is said that the rebellion on his part commenced in blood; and that on the day before this, which was the first of this rising out, he hanged no less than eighteen in the church of Clounish, and afterwards burnt it. Moreover on the thirtieth of October, which was but a week from the first day of the insurrection, the Lords Justices and Council mention in a proclamation, as we shall see presently, that the rebels had "slain divers of his Majesty's good subjects." But to put the matter out of dispute; in the Manuscript collection of depositions in my possession, authenticated under the hands of the commissioners appointed to enquire into the murders and other cruelties of the rebels, it is sworn by the widow of **Mr. CHAMPION** a Justice of the peace in the county of Fermanagh, that on the first day of the insurrection, the rebels killed her husband and eight others his relations, friends or tenants whom she names, and twenty four besides whose names she did not remember.

It matters little however in my opinion, as to the guilt of the Irish Papists in this rebellion, whether many murders, were committed in the first week, or in the first two months; though so warmly charged on one side, and so stiffly contended against on the other: Nor does it in fact at all lessen their guilt or abate their cruelty, that without any provocation from the English Protestant inhabitants, they only plundered or burnt their houses, despoiled them of their estates, stripped them naked, and exposed them to a lingering death by cold and famine;

And

And whatsoever the leading part of the Irish might design, yet still they were inexcusable; for as Lord CASTLEHAVEN honestly confesses, "there is no great difference whether a man kills another himself, or unchains a mastiff that will tear him in pieces; and he could not therefore but believe the contrivers and abettors of the Irish rebellion guilty of the massacre that ensued." Indeed if there is any difference, between putting to death immediately by the sword or a rope, and taking away the life by nakedness and want, the last is infinitely most cruel.

CHARLES F
A. 1641.

Whatever might be at first intended or put in practice, their cruelties, as their success, encreased. The brother and uncle of Lord MACGUIRE made all the havoc and devastation in the county of Fermanagh which the most malicious bloody disposition could suggest. In this extremity, the British in those parts, who had lived securely and amicably with the Irish, who had enriched the country with corn and cattle, and good houses, and who thought of nothing less than a rebellion, had recourse to their landlords or tenants of that nation for the preservation of their lives and the safety of their goods and cattle: but this protection availed them little; most of those in whom they confided either basely destroying them with their own hands, or betraying them perfidiously to the enemy. Those who had houses or castles capable of holding out against the sudden attack of a party of robbers endeavoured to maintain them; but this defence served only to delay, and not to prevent their ruin. The priests had so infatuated, and made such cruel impressions upon the minds of the people on their first success, that they held it a mortal sin to give any manner of relief or protection to the English; and thus all ties of faith and friendship were dissolved, and all other relations cancelled and foregone. This utter infraction of all the bonds of society, and which was not more sudden and unexpected in itself than fatal in its effects, bred so general a terror and astonishment among the English, that they knew not which way to turn themselves, neither what to think, nor what to do. It is observed very justly, "that fear is a betraying of the succours which reason offers:" and under that impression therefore it is no wonder, that people usually have recourse to the first means which present themselves with the hopes of safety, without staying to consider thoroughly the foundation of those hopes. To what else can be imputed the unsafe and imprudent measures pursued by the British and Protestants at this time, and of standing by themselves and keeping singly upon their guard?

CHARLES I. guard ? The terror they were under did not suffer them to perceive, that this must infallibly end in their common destruction, and enable the Irish to effect it with the greatest ease. For if upon the first notice of the insurrection, the English had quitted their houses and drawn out in large bodies in their several counties, under the command of the chief Lords or Gentlemen of their party—as they were tolerably well provided with arms by the condition of their plantations,—they would have been able, if not to vanquish the Irish, who were very ill furnished with warlike weapons, at least to have made a stand, and thrown great difficulties in their way. This advice indeed was given by Lord CLANRICARDE in his letter of the first of November to the Lords Justices ; in which he says, “ if I may presume to deliver my sense freely, I conceive that many English of quality shutting themselves up in forts, no enemy appearing, without any confidence or community with the gentlemen of quality in the country, left without any arms or defence, between whom and others good distinction might be made, I humbly leave it to your Lordship’s consideration whether it may not be of ill consequence.” Of very ill consequence indeed it was: for being forced or starved in their own houses, they fell one after another an easy prey without almost any resistance ; and by that means supplied the rebels with the greatest part of those arms which they appeared with afterwards in the field. In the places where they acted upon the plan I have mentioned, and gathered together in any considerable number, the Irish were obliged to have recourse to stratagem, to assure them of conditions of good quarter, not only for their lives, but for their goods also, and a safe conduct to whatever place they chose. These conditions indeed, though often made under hand and seal, and ratified with an oath, were in the general but ill observed: the English had no sooner surrendered, than the conditions of the treaty were thought to be dissolved ; and the soldiers were left at liberty, at least they took that liberty, to plunder and abuse them. The truth is that in most of the counties of the province of Ulster, where the rebellion first began, there was little or no dexterity or good conduct shewed by the English in their defence ; every one seeking only the preservation of his own house and family, goods and cattle, without joining their forces together for their common safety. And to this imprudent conduct must principally be imputed, the
also-

astounding rapidity with which the rebels overrun that CHARLES I.
provinces in the beginning of the insurrection.

It must be owned however that though this was the principal, yet it was not the only reason of their success. For no method which fraud or artifice could suggest, in order to draw in their own people, or to ensnare the English, was left untried. In several places they came under divers pretences, and borrowed such weapons and arms as the Protestants had in their houses : and in Cavan, the high Sheriff, being an Irish Papist, got possession of the arms of all the Protestants in that county, by pretending that they were wanted to secure them against the violence of the rebels that were in arms in the next county. That they might keep off the Scots in that province, who were very numerous, from giving the English any assistance, they openly professed to spare, as they actually did at first, the whole Scottish nation ; and that they and the English Papists might live quietly with them : hoping no doubt by this means to restrain them all from taking arms, till they had subdued the English and the Protestants, and that then they should be in a condition to deal with them. But the chief engine of fraud and artifice made use of to delude the ignorant and unwary, was the pretending to have received a commission from the King in Scotland for what they did under the great seal ; shewing the commission itself to all their principal followers that were with them, and sending copies to their confederates in every part of the kingdom with the following letter.

A. 1641.

From our camp at the Newry this fourth of November sixteen hundred forty one.

PHILIM O NEILE, RORY MACGUIRE, &c.

To all Catholics of the Roman party both English and Irish within the kingdom of Ireland, we wish all happiness, freedom of conscience, and victory over the English Heretics ; who have for a long time tyrannised over our bodies, and usurped by extortion our estates.

Be it hereby made known unto you all our friends and countrymen, that the King's most excellent Majesty, for many great and urgent causes thereunto moving, reposing trust and confidence in our fidelity, has signified unto us by his Commission under the great seal of Scotland, bearing date at Edinburgh the first day of this instant October sixteen hundred forty one, and also by letters under his
sign

CHARLES I. sign manual bearing date with the said commission, of divers great and heinous affronts that the English Protestants especially the Parliament there, have published against his royal person and prerogative, and also against our Catholic friends within the kingdom of England; the copy of which commission we have here sent unto you to be published with all speed in all parts of this kingdom, that you may be assured of our sufficient warrant and authority herein, *viz.*

CHARLES by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c. To all Catholic subjects within our kingdom of Ireland greeting: Know ye that we for the safeguard and preservation of our person, have been forced to make our abode and residence in our kingdom of Scotland for a long season, occasioned by reason of the obstinate and disobedient carriage of our parliament of England against us, who have not only presumed to take upon them the government, and disposing of those princely rights and prerogatives that have justly descended to us from our predecessors, Kings and Queens of the said kingdom for many hundred years past, but also have possessed themselves of the whole strength of the said kingdom, in appointing governors, commanders, officers in all parts and places therein at their own will and pleasure without our consent; whereby we are deprived of our sovereignty and left naked without defence; and forasmuch as we are in ourselves very sensible, that these storms blow aloft, and are very likely to be carried by the vehemency of the Protestant party into our kingdom of Ireland; and endanger our royal power and authority there also, Know ye therefore that we reposing much care and trust in your duty and obedience which we have for many years past found, do hereby give unto you full power and authority to assemble and meet together with all the speed and diligence which a business of so great consequence doth require, and to advise and consult together by a sufficient and discreet number, at all times days, and places which you shall in your judgment hold most convenient and material, for the ordering, settling, and effecting of this great work, mentioned and directed to you in our letters; and to use all ways and means possibly to possess yourselves for our use and safety, of all the forts castles and places of strength and defence within the said kingdom, except the persons places and estates of our loyal and loving subjects the Scots; and also to arrest and seize the goods, estates, and persons of all the English

glish Protestants within the said kingdom, to our use; CHARLES I.
 and in your care and speedy performance of this our will and
 pleasure, we shall perceive your wonted duty and allegiance A. 1647.
 unto us, which we shall acknowledge and reward in due
 time. Witness ourself. at Edinburgh the first day of
 October, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

RAPIN hath observed that RUSHWORTH, who inserted this commission in his collections, had bad memoirs and little judgment not to see in it things which happened not till the next year; such as the Parliament possessing themselves of the sovereignty, and appointing governors and commanders in all places. But the want of judgment is in himself. For whosoever could be weak enough to believe, that the King would give a commission to the Catholics in Ireland to seize the goods, estates, and persons of all his Protestant subjects in that kingdom, was certainly ignorant enough to be imposed upon by the assertion, to which he objects, of what was doing in England: neither was the assertion greatly beyond the truth. For he himself hath related, “that the Commons had rendered themselves so formidable in the very beginning of the Parliament—the year before—that the King found himself on a sudden deserted by all the world; without having other refuge than to consent to whatever the Parliament proposed.” If to this we add their forcing him to consent to the execution of the Earl of STRAFFORD, to exclude the Bishops from Parliament; to suppress his power of dissolving it without their own consent, to remove Lord DILLON whom he had appointed to be Lord Justice, and against his consent had prevented the Irish troops from being sent to Spain, the assertion abovementioned will not appear to be without foundation. But if the rebel chiefs had not known the ignorance of the people whom it was their intention to delude, they would not have pretended any such commission at all; there being nothing more unlikely for a man of common sense to believe. But this want of judgment in RAPIN is much more excusable than his want of candour and impartiality. In one place, he thinks, “it is for many reasons more than probable, that the King never granted a commission to the Irish to take up arms;” and in another place, he says, “it is pretended they forged it themselves;” when it is impossible for him in his historical researches into this period not to have met with the account, where, and when, and by whom it was forged.

Sup-

CHARLES I. Supposing him not to see it any where else, he must have read it in RUSHWORTH, in the very next page from whence he transcribed the commission, taken from Lord CLARENDON: and therefore to say "it is probable it was never granted, and that it is pretended it was forged," is at best a suppression of the truth; which in an historian is highly criminal.

It is very certain that this pretension and report of a commission from the King to the Catholics of Ireland to take up arms, was of the utmost ill consequence to his affairs in that kingdom, and in this. It encouraged those people to join in the insurrection; and it still further alienated the minds of those, who were before but too much prejudiced against his Majesty, and who thought him capable of doing any thing to avoid the servitude they were preparing for him. In short, the calumny imposed more on many sober and moderate men here—who before had disliked the passionate proceedings of the Parliament—then could be imagined then, or can now perhaps be believed; so great a prejudice or want of reverence—says Lord CLARENDON,—being universally contracted against the Court: and to those who did not believe it, but were enemies to the King, it served as a handle to act against him, as tho' they did believe it: for tho' it required only a little good sense and impartiality to discern the cheat, yet these we find are the portion of but a small part of the world. Thus not only General LUDLOW—one of the greatest republican bigots that ever lived—hath propagated a report, which he says in his memoirs, "he had heard from persons of undoubted credit, that the news of this rebellion was not displeasing to the King tho' it was attended with the massacre of many thousand of the Protestants there;" but many of the King's friends were weak enough to be imposed upon by the pretence of this commission; as the reader will see hereafter. At present I shall only relate what Dr. MAXWELL hath deposed, who was for some time a prisoner among the rebels in Ulster under Sir PHELM O NEIL. He says, that having asked some of the officers and the friars, "why they sometimes pretended a commission from the King, at other times from the Queen, since all wise men knew that the King would not grant a commission against himself, and the Queen could not? They said it was lawful for them to pretend what they could in advancement of their cause: that many garrison soldiers now their prisoners, whom they determined

mined to employ in the war and to train others, would not serve them in regard to their oath, unless they were made so to believe: that in all wars, rumours and lies served many times to as good purpose as arms; and that they would not disclaim any advantage. But they said, for the Queen, in regard as a Catholic, she had enemies enough already, they would command their priests publickly at Mass to discharge the people from speaking of her as a cause or abettor of the present troubles." To the same purpose with the former part of this answer, is what Lord MUSKERY said to Lord ORRERY after the restoration, when he was reproached by him with the wickedness of that forgery; "that it would have been impossible to have held their people together without this device."

I have said that it required only a little good sense and impartiality to discern the cheat of this commission, and of a report of the King's having had any hand, or satisfaction in this rebellion; and I will now explain what I mean. If the King could have been supposed weak enough to incline to extirpate the Protestant religion, in which he was himself very zealous and sincere, and if he could have been wicked enough to desire the ruin and destruction of his Protestant English subjects there, or even only to stir up this insurrection, yet common policy would have restrained him at that time without any other motive. Because nothing in his then situation with the Parliaments of England and Scotland, could possibly have been more unreasonable than a rebellion in his other kingdom at that juncture. It was in truth the greatest evil that could have befallen him; as it obliged him to leave all the management of that war to the two Houses of Parliament here, and to furnish them with the means of raising men and money; a great part of which was employed against himself. Nor was this the only mischief: for though the Parliament did not appear much to regard the calumny that was spread against him on account of this rebellion, yet if it did not fill them with distrust, it gave them a pretence to feign one; and by that means to strengthen the suspicions and fears of those, upon whom the leaders wanted to make an impression, in order to bring them into their measures against his Majesty.

The pretence of the rebels to such a commission from the King, and some other reports that were spread in Ireland to his disadvantage, made the following proclamation appear necessary.

By

By the Lords Justices and Council,

WILLIAM PARSONS. JOHN BORLASE.

CHARLES I. Whereas we the Lords Justices and Council have lately
 A. 1641. found that there was a most disloyal, wicked, and detestable
 conspiracy intended and plotted against the lives of us
 the Lords Justices and Council, and many others of his
 Majesty's faithful subjects, and especially in Ulster and
 the borders thereof, and for the surprising not only his
 Majesty's castle of Dublin, his Majesty's principal fort,
 but also of other fortifications in several parts: and altho'
 by the great goodness and abundant mercy of almighty
 God to his Majesty and to this state and kingdom, these
 wicked conspiracies are brought to light, and some of the
 conspirators committed to the castle of Dublin by us, by
 his Majesty's authority, so as those wicked and damnable
 plots have not taken effect in the chief parts thereof,
 yet some of those wicked malefactors have surprised some
 of his Majesty's forts and garrisons in the North of Ire-
 land, slain divers of his Majesty's good subjects, impris-
 oned some, and robbed and spoiled very many others,
 and continue yet in those rebellious courses, against whom
 therefore some of his Majesty's forces are now march-
 ing to fight against them and subdue them, thereby to
 render safety to his Majesty's faithful subjects: and
 whereas to colour and countenance their wicked intend-
 ments and acts, and in hope to gain the more numbers
 and reputation to themselves and their proceedings in the
 opinion of the ignorant common people, those conspi-
 rators have yet gone further, and to their other high
 crimes and offences have added this further wickedness,
 even to traduce the Crown and State as well of England as
 Ireland, by false seditious and scandalous reports and ru-
 mours spread abroad by them: We therefore to vindicate
 the Crown and state of both kingdoms from those false and
 wicked calumnies, do hereby in his Majesty's name pub-
 lish and declare, that the said reports so spread abroad, by
 those wicked persons are most false wicked and traiterous,
 and that we have full power and authority from his Majes-
 ty to prosecute and subdue those rebels and traitors, which
 now we are doing accordingly by the power and strength
 of his Majesty's army, and with the assistance of his Ma-
 jesty's

jeſty's good and loyal ſubjects ; and we no way doubt but all his Maſteſty's good and faithful ſubjects will give faith and credit to us, who have the honour to be truſted by his Maſteſty ſo highly as to ſerve him in this his kingdom, rather than to the vain idle and wicked reports of ſuch lewd and wicked conſpirators who ſpreed thoſe falſe and ſeditious rumours, hoping to ſeducer a great number to their party : and as we now believe that ſome who have joined themſelves to thoſe conſpirators had no hand in contriving or plotting the miſchiefs intended, but under pretence of thoſe ſeditious ſcandals were deluded by thoſe conſpirators, and ſo are now become ignorantly involved in their guilt, ſo in favour and mercy to thoſe ſo deluded, we hereby charge and command them in his Maſteſty's name, now from us to take light to guide them from that darkneſs into which they were miſſed by the wicked ſeducement of thoſe conſpirators, and to depart from them and from their wicked counſels and actions ; and according to the duty of loyal ſubjects to ſubmit themſelves to his ſacred Maſteſty, and to his royal authority entrusted with us. But in caſe thoſe perſons who were no plotters nor contrivers of the ſaid treaſon, but were ſince ſeduced to join with them as aforeſaid, lay not hold on this his Maſteſty's grace and favour now tendered unto them, then we do by this proclamation publiſh and declare, that they ſhall hereafter be reputed and taken equally guilty with the ſaid plotters and contrivers, and as incapable of favour and mercy as they are. Given at his Maſteſty's caſtle of Dublin the thirtieth of October, ſixteen hundred forty one.

Signed by Nine of the Council.

The reports of the cruelties exerciſed upon the Engliſh encreaſing every day, with the addition of divers murders as mentioned above in this proclamation, the Lords Juſtices and Council ſent commiſſions about this time to the Lords CLANDEBOIS, and ARDES, SR. WIL. and SR. ROB. STEWART, and other Gentlemen of rank and fortune in the North, “ giving them power to proſecute the rebels with fire and ſword, yet ſo as to reſcue ſuch as ſhould ſubmit to his Maſteſty's grace and mercy ; ſignifying withal, that altho' by the ſaid commiſſion they gave them full power thereunto, yet they acquainted them that for thoſe who were chief among the rebels and ringleaders of the reſt to diſobedience, that they adjudged them leſs worthy of favour than the others whom they had miſguid-

CHARLES I. ed : and therefore for those principal persons, they required them to take care not to be too forward, without consulting the council board, in proffering or promising mercy to those, unless they the said commissioners saw it of great and unavoidable necessity."

A. 1641.

It is plain that some murders, tho' probably not very many, considering the nature of the insurrection and the end intended, were committed in the first week ; but the main view of the common Irish was plunder : they saw the opulence of their English neighbours at the same time that they felt the miserableness of their own condition ; and not being able, by their strong aversion to labour, to bring themselves to mend it in any ways of industry, they eagerly caught at the means of doing it by the spoil of others : and chiefly by these temptations of licentiousness and rapine, **SR. PHELM O NEIL** in a week's time had thirty thousand men under his command : with which he boasted in his letter to his confessor, that he had gained great and many victories. Indeed in that space of time, so very rapid were their progress, they left the Protestants but little in the whole province of Ulster, except Londonderry, Colerain, and Inniskilling, and part of the counties of Down and Antrim : and such of them whose lives they thought fit then to spare they drove out of the country, either into those towns, or some of the northern ports. Many of those who had got together and made a shew of standing on their defence, if they were not plundered, stripped, or murdered on their surrender—as was the case of those who had shut themselves up in the cathedral of Armagh and yielded to **SR. PHELM O NEIL**, and his brother **TURLOGH**—by giving up all their plate and money and goods, had leave to come up to Dublin under convoy. Several of these came up accordingly in troops of many hundreds, without any weapons, or any thing else but the clothes upon their backs : others, who had the misfortune to meet with more unjust and merciless convoys, were stripped of these, or perfidiously given up into the hands of other rebels who kept no terms with them whatever ; and thus multitudes were starved and perished in the road as they travelled along. Of the great numbers that were allowed to go to Dublin, or other places of safety in the North, many of the men, but most of the women and children, survived only a little time the bitterness of their passage : and being either overwhelmed with grief at their condition, or wearied with travel beyond their strength,

strength, contracted such diseases, as, being aggravated CHARLES I.
with cold and nakedness and want, struck to deeply into
constitutions which had been nourished in ease and plenty, A. 1641.
that they soon brought them down with sorrow to their
graves. These were the first fruits of this rebellion :
which having covered over the northern parts of the king-
dom with a desolation that must be left to the reader's
imagination—for words cannot express it—began now to
be diffused over the other provinces. But we must leave
what was carrying on in Ireland for the present, and turn
to see what was done by the King and Parliament of Eng-
land, when they received the news of this insurrection.

The King, as we have observed, was at this time in
Scotland; whither SR. HEN. SPOTSWOOD had been sent
by sea to his Majesty, with letters from the Lords Justices
and Council on the twenty fifth of October, the third
day after the rebellion had broken out. But it appears by
what follows, that the King had received the first intelli-
gence from the Lord CHICHESTER. For on the fifth NALSON.
of November, the Lord Keeper informed the House of
Lords, that he had received a letter from the Lord HOW-
ARD, dated the thirtieth of October, which was com-
manded to be read; and in which, among other things it
is said, “ that concerning the rebellion in Ireland, his Ma-
jesty upon the first notice thereof moved the Parliament
of Scotland to take this business into consideration; which
accordingly they did, and appointed a committee for this
very purpose, which made report; whereof a copy is in-
closed together with a ratification thereof in Parliament,
wherein they have testified their affection and respect to
this kingdom.” It is proper the reader should be in-
formed, before he goes any further, who Lord HOWARD
was, and in what employment, from whom this account
was sent; or otherwise he will be at a loss to understand
some passages that will follow hereafter in this book.
When the King went to Scotland, a small committee of
one Lord and two Commoners, was appointed by the two
Houses to attend upon his Majesty, as it was pretended,
but in truth to be spies upon him, and to give the same as-
sistance to the Parliament there upon any emergent occa-
sion, as the Scottish commissioners had done here. Lord
HOWARD being the person appointed by the Lords to be
of this committee, as one entirely devoted to the party
against the Court; it fell to his share to transmit the fol-
lowing account to the Lord Keeper.

CHARLES I.

A. 1641.
NALSON.

The report of the committee in the Parliament of Scotland, the King being present, the twentieth of October sixteen hundred forty one.

“ His Majesty produced a letter written to him by the Lord Viscount CHICHESTER, anent some commotions in Ireland, which was publickly read in audience of the King's Majesty and Parliament ; and his Majesty desired that some may be appointed to think upon the business, so far as may concern his Majesty and the Kingdom : and the estates nominated the Lord Chancellor, Lord General, Lord LOTHIAN, Lord AMOND—and eight or nine Commoners—to think upon some course necessary to be done anent the said letters, and what is incumbent to be done by this kingdom thereupon, and report again to the Parliament.

“ On the same day in the afternoon, the committee above nominated, appointed for taking into consideration the report of the commotions in Ireland, being met in the Lord General's house, and having read the letter directed to the King's Majesty from the Lord CHICHESTER, dated at Belfast the twenty-fourth day of October sixteen hundred forty one, hath considered that his Majesty, out of his wisdom and royal care of the peace of his kingdoms, hath already acquainted the Parliament of England with the intelligence from Ireland, and has sent to Ireland to know the certainty of the commotions and of the affairs of that combination, which till it be perfectly known there can be no particular course taken for the suppressing thereof ; and the kingdom of Ireland being dependent upon the crown and kingdom of England, the English may conceive jealousies, and mistake our forwardness, when they shall hear of our preparations without their knowledge in this, wherein they are first and more properly concerned : and if the insurrections be of that importance, as the British within Ireland are not powerful enough to suppress it, without greater forces than their allies, and that his Majesty and Parliament of England shall think our aid necessary to join with them, we conceive that the assistance which we can contribute may be in readiness, as soon as England ; and if after resolution taken by his Majesty, with advice of both Parliaments, it shall be found necessary that we give our present assistance, we shall go about it with that speed which may witness our dutiful respects to his

his Majesty's service and our affections to our
his Majesty's loyal subjects of England, and Ireland.

"The twenty-ninth day of October sixteen hundred
forty one.

Read in audience of his Majesty and Estates of Parli-
ament "ad futuram rei memoriam," as a testimony
of their affections to his Majesty's service and the good of
their neighbour kingdoms, and appoints three of the Barons
and three Boroughs to meet the Earl of EGLINGTON at
three hours afternoon, to take to their consideration by
way of estimation or conjecture, the number of boats or
lime fades, which, in the parts of this kingdom lying op-
posite to Ireland, may be had in readiness, and what num-
ber of men may be transported therein, and to report
again to the Parliament."

Besides this report of the committee, and the ratifica-
tion of it in the Parliament of Scotland, the King also
sent expresses to both houses of Parliament in England,
advertising them of this melancholy affair in Ireland, and
referring it to their care and management. By this
means they became possessed of a large power and depen-
dence, the mischief of which, though but little taken no-
tice of in the beginning, was afterwards felt by the King
very sensibly. At the same time he sent another express
to the Earl of ORMONDE in Ireland, who had been
Lieutenant-General of the army that was disbanded,
with the following letter.

ORMONDE,

Though I am sorry for this occasion I have to send un-
to you, which is the sudden and unexpected rebellion of
a great and considerable part of Ireland, yet I am glad to
have so able and faithful a servant as you are, to whom I
may freely and confidently write in so important a business.
This is therefore to desire you to accept of that charge
over this, which you lately had over the former army:
the which though you may have some reason to excuse, as
not being so well acquainted with this Lord-Lieutenant
as you were with the last, yet I am confident that my de-
sire and the importance of the business will easily overcome
that difficulty; which laid aside for my sake, I shall ac-
cept as a great renewed testimony of that affection which

CART.

CHARLES I. I know you to have my service. So referring what I have else to say to Captain WEEMES's relation : I rest

A. 1641.

Your most assured friend,

Edinburgh,
31st October 1641.

CHARLES R.

By the same messenger a letter was sent to the Earl of ORMONDE by MR. Secretary VANE ; acquainting his Lordship " how unwelcome and how unexpected to the King this revolt in Ireland was ; but that his Majesty's care and affection of his faithful loving subjects was such, as that all possible diligence had been used in sending for supplies of men and money from England, and troops out of Scotland to reinforce the Lords in the North." The reader will recollect another letter from the same Secretary to the Lords Justices, recited in the former book, and which he was desired then to keep in remembrance for this occasion ; as it serves to shew the King's desire to have prevented this insurrection : and had the Lords Justices done their duty, according to the advice and orders sent them in that letter, in all probability it would have been prevented. It appears by the journal of the Parliament of Scotland above recited, that the King had also sent into Ireland—to the Lords Justices no doubt—to enquire into the certainty and the circumstances of these commotions : He sent over also several commissions to persons of honour and trust in the North, some arms and ammunition, and all the money that he could spare : so that his Majesty we see was not idle nor careless on his part about the consequence of this rebellion ; nor could he possibly do more than he did, at the distance he was at in Scotland, to remedy and suppress it. Let us now see what was done by the Council and Parliament of England, on receiving the intelligence of this insurrection.

O CONOLLY, the first discoverer of the plot, and who was sent over with the letters to the Lord Lieutenant, arrived at London on the last day of October, and late in the evening delivered them to his Lordship. The Lord-Lieutenant, having read them over, and received a full information of all the particulars that O CONOLLY then knew, on the next day went to the Council Board ; and having acquainted the Lords with them, he was directed to communicate them to both houses of Parliament then sitting. Accordingly on the same day, " The Lord Keeper

informed the house of Lords, that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland having yesterday received a packet of letters and examinations from the Justices and Council of Ireland, discovering an insurrection and treason in that kingdom, and that the rebels have already committed divers murders, and fired houses and villages of the Protestants there; upon this the Privy Council met at Whitehall, and considering it to be a matter of so great importance, thought it not fit to omit any opportunity, nor lose time: therefore because this House was appointed not to sit till this afternoon, the Lords of the Council, as Privy-counsellors, thought it expedient to communicate the same speedily to the House of Commons: And this morning in a full house, their Lordships in person caused the letters and examinations concerning the business to be publicly read unto them, and desired the House of Commons to take the same into consideration. The letter of the Council to the Lord Lieutenant, the whole contents of which the reader hath already seen in the former part of this book, was then read in the House of Lords; with the examinations and proclamations there already also recited. Two private letters to the Lord Lieutenant from the two Lords Justices were also read; declaring the state and danger which that kingdom was in, if there be not present supply of arms, men, and money from England. The Lord Keeper then acquainted the House, that the Lords of the Council being informed of the packets of letters that came this week from Ireland, had sent out their orders and staid them, and committed them into the hands of the Gentleman-Usher, until their Lordships further directions be known herein. Whereupon the Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Admiral, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of BATH, Earl of SOUTHAMPTON, Earl of LEICESTER, and Earl of WARWICK were appointed to be a committee, to open and read such letters as conduce any thing to the discovery of the affairs of Ireland, and to report the same to this house, and to return those which concern merchants affairs to the Postmaster to be delivered to the owners; their Lordships, or any seven or more of them to meet when they please, and have power by virtue hereof to divide themselves into several, by any four or more, as they shall see occasion."—

Let us now see what passed relating to this affair in the House of Commons.

CHARLES I.

A. 1641.

“ Upon the first day of November, Mr. PYM acquainted the House, that there was a noble Lord at the door,

RUSHWORT.

CHARLES I. one of the King's Privy-council, who saith that certain Lords of the Privy-council Members of the House of Peers, have businels of great importance to impart to this House, and desire to do it in person; it being privately intimated to the House, that it was to impart intelligence newly come of a breaking out of a rebellion in Ireland. The House thereupon ordered chairs to be set for those Lords; and as they entered into the House they came uncovered, the serjeant carrying the mace before them. Likewise the members of the House of Commons at their coming were uncovered till their Lordships were sate on their chairs; which being done, both the House, and the Lords sate covered. The Lords that came, were the Lord Keeper of the great seal of England, the Lord Privy-seal, the Lord High-chamberlain, the Lord Admiral, Earl Marshall, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of BATH, Earl of DORSET, Earl of LEICESTER, Earl of HOLLAND, Earl of BRISTOL, Earl of BERKSHIRE, Lord Viscount SAY and SEAL, Lord GORING, Lord WILMOT; being all Lords of his Majesty's most honourable privy council. The Lord Keeper first stood up and said, that the occasion of their coming thither, was to impart what intelligence they had received out of Ireland of a great conspiracy in that kingdom, to enter into an attempt of hostility and to raise rebellion, which was discovered but the night before it was designed to be put in execution: therefore because it is a matter of great importance, and requires a speedy resolution to suppress them in the beginning, the House of Peers have thought fit to communicate this matter to this House." Then the Earl of LEICESTER—some-time before made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—stood up and spake uncovered, much to the same purpose of what the Lord Keeper had said, and communicated letters and papers sent by the Lords Justices; adding further, "that they had information of shedding much blood of the Protestants there, and some of the rebels confess that all the Protestants were to be cut off, and not to save any British men, women, or children alive, but to root them out of the nation; that the time for putting this bloody design in execution, was upon Saturday the twenty third of October, a day dedicated to ST. IGNATIUS the founder of the society of the Jesuits. Their design was to seize upon the King's forts, castles, and magazines throughout the kingdom; to kill the Lords Justices and all the King's Privy Council, and to seize upon the castle of Dublin; having

having in Ulster seized already several forts and magazines." CHARLES I.
 The Lord Lieutenant further added, "that there must
 be a speedy course taken—for a little thing will draw dif- A. 1641.
 eases away at first—that there be timely supply from En-
 gland with men and money, which will enable us to do
 great things to save Ireland; for the safety of England de-
 pends upon it; and then he delivered the examinations and
 letters mentioned above, which were read by the clerk of
 the House of Commons."

Before I relate the proceedings of the House of Com-
 mons on this intelligence, the reader will give me leave to
 observe, that the Lord Keeper in the House of Lords,
 and the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Commons, had
 both exceeded the informations that had been given, either
 in the letters, or in the examinations transmitted over.
 No historian hath taken place of this falsification; and
 yet one cannot believe there was owing in both to acci-
 dent or mistake. The Lord Keeper hath said, "that
 the rebels have already committed divers murders," and the
 Lord Lieutenant, besides, affirming "that they had in-
 formation of shedding much blood of the Protestants there,"
 added moreover "that the design of the rebels was to
 kill the Lords Justices and all the King's Privy-council.
 Whereas neither in the letters, nor in the examinations,
 is there a single word of any murder being then committed;
 nor was there the least thought among the conspirators,
 for any thing that appears, of killing particularly the Lords
 Justices and all the King's Privy-council; and the Coun-
 cil in their letter, after giving an account of several rob-
 beries, burning houses and villages, and seizing some forts
 and castles, expressly say, "and this though too much, is
 all that we yet hear is done by them." For what end or
 purpose, an enterprize, so detestable in itself, should be
 thus made more odious than the truth would warrant, let
 the reader determine for himself. There is no accounting
 fairly for such a representation, but by supposing—what
 might be the case—that an information of some murders
 had been received in the instant of O CONOLLY's leaving
 Dublin, which was not committed to writing.

The examination of O CONOLLY, the letter of the
 Council to the Lord Lieutenant, and the proclamation
 which was issued first, having been read, the Lords of the
 Council withdrew: And the Commons being unwilling to RUSHWORT.
 lose time in helping the distressed kingdom of Ireland, re-
 solved themselves into a committee of the whole house;
 where-

CHARLES I. whereupon Mr. **SPEAKER** left the chair, and Mr. **WHITLOCK** a Member of great parts and ability being made chairman, the committee came to several resolutions, which he reported when the Speaker resumed the chair; and which were agreed to by the House to be the heads of a conference to be desired with the Lords.

“ Resolved,

That fifty thousand pounds shall be forthwith provided for the service of Ireland; and that a conference be had with the Lords, to move them that a select committee of the members of both Houses may be appointed to go to the city of London, and make a declaration to them of the state of the business in Ireland, and to acquaint them that the lending of monies at this time will be an acceptable service to the commonwealth; and that they propose unto them the loan of fifty thousand pounds, and assure them that they shall be secured both for the principal and interest by act of Parliament.

Resolved, that another head of this conference shall be to desire the Lords, that a select Committee of both Houses may be named to consider the affairs of Ireland, and of the raising and sending of men and ammunition from hence into that kingdom.

Resolved, that **OWEN O CONOLLY** who discovered this great treason in Ireland, shall have five hundred pounds presently paid him; and two hundred pounds a year pension, until a provision be made for an inheritance of greater value.

Resolved, that the persons of Papists of quality in the several counties in this kingdom may be secured.

Resolved, that another head shall be, that a list be brought in of the Queen's priests and other servants.

Resolved, that a proclamation be issued forth commanding all strangers, that are not of the Protestant religion, to deliver in tickets of their names and an account of their stay here, within two days after the issuing forth of the said proclamation, or else to depart the kingdom forthwith.”

These votes were accordingly communicated to the Lords at a conference managed by Mr. **WHITLOCK**; whereupon the Lords afterwards sent a message to the House of Commons, that they had appointed a select committee of twelve Lords to go into the city, desiring that a proportionable number of the House of Commons may go with them, to move the city for the loan of fifty thousand pounds for the present occasions of Ireland; and thereupon the House of Commons named a committee accordingly

cordingly. The Lords also acquainted the Commons, CHARLES I.
 that they had named a select committee of Lords to be a
A. 1461.
 standing committee to manage the affairs of Ireland; and
 desired the House of Commons to name a proportionable
 number of their House: thereupon a committee of fifty
 two were named to meet with the Lords to be a standing
 committee for the affairs of Ireland.—It may be proper
 to inform the reader, that NALSON makes MR. PYM the
 manager of this conference; and to the resolutions above
 recited adds another, that a committee of Lords may be
 nominated to take the further examination of OWEN O
 CONOLLY upon oath, upon such interrogatories as shall
 be offered by a committee of the House of Commons and
 in the presence of that committee. There is some other
 difference in the account, but which is not very material:
 and NALSON tells us, that “MR. PYM said he was com-
 manded by the House of Commons to desire their Lord-
 ships to let the Earl of LEICESTER know, that they take
 his diligent and timely acquainting the Parliament with
 his intelligence, concerning the rebellion and treason in
 Ireland, very well; for which he was commanded to give
 his Lordship thanks from the House of Commons for his
 good service done therein to the King and kingdom.”

The Lords having agreed to the resolutions of the Com-
 mons communicated at the conference, the Lord Keeper by
 command of the House, returned their thanks to the Lord
 Lieutenant—as MR. PYM had done in the name of the
 Commons—desiring also his Lordship to write speedily to
 the King, to acquaint him with the affairs of Ireland and
 the danger that kingdom is now in; and to let his Majesty
 know what the Parliament had done towards a supply and
 aid for reducing the rebels. At the same time it was or-
 dered, that his Lordship should write to the Lords Justices
 and Council of Ireland, to acquaint them that the Parlia-
 ment had taken into their care to send them a supply of
 men and money with all convenient speed, and are resolved
 to give them assistance in this great defection: wishing
 them to persist in their diligence and care in defending that
 kingdom against the rebels until succours can be sent them;
 and that they give intelligence with the first opportunities
 how the state of that kingdom is, and how the rebels be-
 have themselves.” NALSON.

The Parliament of England having proceeded thus far,
 on the two first days after the discovery had been made
 to them of the Irish insurrection, on the two days follow-
 ing

CHARLES I. ing—being the third and fourth of November—the House of Commons came to these further resolutions ;—“ That the House holds fit that two hundred thousand pounds be forthwith supplied for the present occasions of Ireland ; That a convenient number of ships shall be provided for the guarding of the sea-coasts of Ireland ; That this House holds fit that six thousand foot and two thousand horse shall be raised with all convenient speed for the present expedition into Ireland ; That the Lord Lieutenant shall present to both Houses of Parliament such officers as he shall think fit to send into Ireland to command any forces to be transported thither ; That the magazines of victuals shall be forthwith provided at West-Chester to be sent over to Dublin, as the occasions of that kingdom shall require ; That the magazines of arms, ammunition, and powder, now in Carlisle, shall be sent over to Knockfergus in Ireland ; That it be referred to the King’s Council, to consider of some fit way, and to present to the House, for a publication to be made of rewards to be given to such as shall do service in this expedition to Ireland, and for a pardon of such of the rebels in Ireland as shall come in by a time limited, and for a sum of money to be appointed for a reward of such as shall bring in the heads of such principal rebels as shall be nominated ; That letters shall be forthwith sent to the Justices in Ireland, to acquaint them how sensible this House is of the affairs of Ireland ; That the committee of Irish affairs shall consider how and in what manner this kingdom shall make use of the friendship and assistance of Scotland in the business of Ireland ; That directions shall be given for the drawing of a bill for the pressing of men for this particular of Ireland.”

To these resolutions, **NALSON** hath added, “ That in Bristol and West-Chester, and one other port in Cumberland, magazines of arms, ammunition, powder, and victuals shall be provided, to be transported into the next convenient ports of Ireland, as the occasions of that kingdom shall require ; That all arms, ammunition, and powder in the magazines at Hull—except such a proportion of powder, bullet, and match, as shall be thought fit for the supply of the northern counties as occasion shall require—be transported to the Tower of London ; That a convenient number of engineers and gunners shall be sent into Ireland ; That a Post shall be set up between Beaumaris and Holyhead ; That the House holds it fit that

that a drum shall be forthwith beaten for the calling in of volunteers for the service of Ireland: That the eleven thousand pounds in ready cash in the chamber of London shall be forthwith paid over to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for the present occasions of that kingdom, and that the commissioners and treasurers appointed in the act grant forth their warrants and orders accordingly; That the officers and customs of the several ports of this kingdom towards Ireland, do make diligent search in all trunks and other carriages that come to be transported from England to Ireland, that belong to any Papist or suspected person; and particularly that those trunks sent by Exeter shall be stayed and searched."

CHARLES I.
A: 1641.

In the mean time, whilst the Commons were employed about these resolutions, "it was ordered in the House of Peers, that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland should take care, that all such persons as are now in this kingdom, and have places of trust or command in Ireland, should speedily repair thither to their several charges in the defence of that kingdom. The several interrogatories prepared for the examination of O CONOLLY were read, as follow. What ground had you to suspect that the Papists had any design upon the state of Ireland? What have you heard any Priests or others say concerning the promoting the Romish religion? What discourse have you had with MACMAHON concerning any such design in Ireland? Have you heard of any design in England or Scotland of the like nature, and what is it you have heard? Declare your whole knowledge."—I see nothing in those questions that can warrant the accusation which NALSON has formed upon them against the Parliament; "of their designing purposely to draw out something from him, which might give colour to the pretended calumnies against the King or Queen, or both of them, as being some way or other concerned in promoting popery and the rebellion in Ireland." But it was impossible for the Parliament to be more prejudiced against the King, or more ready to suspect him on every occasion which administered the least room to do so, than this writer was prejudiced against the Parliament, and ready to impute intentions to them on the most distant grounds.

NALSON.

"The Lord Privy-Seal reported, that the committees of both Houses had gone into the city the day before in the name of the Parliament, to acquaint them with the state of affairs in Ireland, and that without a speedy supply

NALSON.

CHARLES I. supply of men, arms, and money, that kingdom would be in danger to be lost; but the Parliament required nothing of them but the loan of money—fifty thousand pounds—which should be secured to them by an act of Parliament, with advantage to themselves, with interest. Upon this, his Lordship says, that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council, being much moved at the relation, and as it was the case of religion, retired to consult among themselves till it was very late, and so the committee left them. But the Recorder had that morning waited on the Lords of the Council at Whitehall, and declared, that he was ordered to acquaint their Lordships, that so great sums of money had been lately drawn from that body that they were hardly able to supply this occasion: “yet that they had such hearty and good affection to the cause, it being for religion’s sake, the saving the lives and estates of Protestants, the saving of a kingdom, and the preserving it to the dependency of this crown, they would do their utmost endeavours, but would not promise any thing before every man had consulted with himself what he was able to do; which they promised to do speedily, and the Recorder hoped to give a further account of it that night.”

“The Lord Keeper then signified that he had received a letter from Mr. Secretary VANE, dated the twenty eighth of October last from Holy-rood-house, touching the intelligence which his Majesty had received in Scotland concerning the rebellion in Ireland; which is by his Majesty’s command to be communicated to both Houses of Parliament here, to whom he hath recommended the care of those affairs, and expects their advice what course is fittest to be taken for the reducing of that kingdom. His Lordship added, that he had received copies of other letters, which were sent to his Majesty out of the north parts of Ireland, desiring him to send them speedy supplies for the saving of that kingdom.” These were all referred to the committee for Irish affairs. The resolutions of the House of Commons above recited were then read and agreed to: and the Lord Keeper was ordered to take care to see them sent to Ireland; as also to send copies of them to his Majesty, that he may see the care of his Parliament in his absence concerning the affairs of Ireland. The Lord Admiral was also ordered to give command for the stopping the Posts towards Ire-

land;

land, upon such as were then going from Flanders thither; and a draught of a declaration to be sent into Ireland to the Lords Justices, with a letter from the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament, were presented to the House and read. The declaration was as follows:

CHARLES I.

A. 1641.

The Lords and Commons in this present Parliament being advertised of the dangerous conspiracy and rebellion in Ireland, by the treacherous and wicked instigation of Romish priests and Jesuits, for the bloody massacre and destruction of all the Protestants living there, and other his Majesty's loyal subjects of English blood, tho' of the Romish religion, being ancient inhabitants within several counties and parts of that realm, who have always in former rebellions given testimony of their fidelity to this Crown: and for the utter depriving of his royal Majesty and the Crown of England from the government of that kingdom—under pretence of setting up the Popish religion—have thereupon taken into their serious consideration, how these mischievous attempts might be most speedily and effectually prevented, wherein the honour safety and interest of this kingdom are most nearly and fully concerned: wherefore they do hereby declare, that they do intend to serve his Majesty with their lives and fortunes for the suppressing this wicked rebellion, in such a way as shall be thought most effectual by the wisdom and authority of Parliament: and thereupon have ordered and provided for a present supply of moneys, and raising the number of six thousand foot and two thousand horse to be sent from England, being the full proportion desired by the Lords Justices and his Majesty's Council resident in that kingdom, with a resolution to add such further succours as the necessity of those affairs shall require. They have also resolved of providing arms and munition, not only for those men, but likewise for his Majesty's faithful subjects in that kingdom, with stores of victuals, and other necessities as there shall be occasion: and that these provisions may more conveniently be transported thither, they have appointed three several ports in this kingdom; that is to say, Bristol, West-chester, and one other in Cumberland, where the magazines and storehouses shall be kept for the supply of the several parts of Ireland. They have likewise resolved to be humble mediators to his Majesty for the encouragement of those English or Irish, who shall upon their own charges raise any number of horse or foot for his service against the rebels; that they shall be honourably

CHARLES I. ourably rewarded with lands of inheritance in Ireland according to their merits : and for inducing the rebels to repent their wicked attempts, they do hereby commend it to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or in his absence to the Lord Deputy or Lords Justices there, according to the power of the commission granted them in that behalf, to bestow his Majesty's gracious pardon to all such as within a convenient time, to be declared by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices and council of that kingdom, shall return to their due obedience ; the greatest part whereof they conceive have been seduced on false grounds, by cunning and subtle practices of some of the most malignant rebels, enemies to this state and to reformed religion ; and likewise to bestow such rewards, as shall be thought fit and published by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices and Council, upon all those who shall arrest the persons, or bring in the heads of such traitors as shall be personally named in any proclamation published by the state there : and they do hereby exhort and require all his Majesty's loving subjects, both in this and that kingdom, to remember their duty and conscience to GOD and his religion, and the great and imminent danger which will involve this whole kingdom in general and themselves in particular, if this abominable treason be not timely suppressed ; and therefore with all readiness, bounty, and cheerfulness, to confer their assistance in their persons and estates to this so important and necessary a service for the common good of all."

The letter to the Lords Justices from the Speakers of both Houses, which was to accompany the declaration, was as follows :

My Lords Justices, and the rest of his Majesty's Council of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland.

I have received a command from the Lord's House in this present Parliament, to send unto you this inclosed declaration of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for the better encouragement of his Majesty's faithful subjects, to unite and employ themselves in opposing and suppressing the rebels of this and that kingdom, the publishing whereof I am to recommend to your care and wisdom, and rest, &c.

NALSON.

When these letters had been read and agreed to in the House of Lords, an ordinance of Parliament to give power to the Lord Lieutenant to grant commissions and to raise men

men for Ireland, which had passed the House of Commons CHARLES I. the day before, was then agreed to by the Lords, as follows :—"The Lords and Commons in Parliament, being A. 1641. very sensible of the great danger and combustion in Ireland by reason of the multitude of rebels now in arms for the destruction of his Majesty's loyal subjects there, and the withdrawing that kingdom from the allegiance of his Majesty and the Crown of England; and forasmuch as in this time of his Majesty's absence, his royal commission cannot be so soon obtained as the necessity of that kingdom doth require; and for more speedy opposing the wicked and traiterous attempts of the rebels there, and for that his Majesty hath especially recommended the care of the preservation of that kingdom unto both the Houses of Parliament, do hereby ordain and authorise ROBERT Earl of LEICESTER Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by warrant under his hand and seal, to give one or more commissions to such captains, commanders, and other officers, as to his Lordship shall seem expedient, for the levying of three thousand five hundred foot and six hundred horse, by the beating of drum, of such persons as shall voluntarily undertake the same service by accepting of prest money; which persons are to be raised in such several parts of the kingdom, as shall be most convenient for their passage into the parts of Ireland, which his Lordship shall think most necessary to be forthwith supplied: and for the furnishing of the same men, as also of other of his Majesty's subjects in that kingdom, we have ordained that the Earl of NEWPORT, Master of his Majesty's ordnance, shall deliver a number of arms, munition and powder answerable, unto the said Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to be disposed of as he shall think fit for the best defence of that kingdom: and for the levying the said number of men this ordinance of Parliament shall be his sufficient warrant."

The ordinance to the Lord NEWPORT just mentioned NALSON. was read and agreed to at the same time; together with another to the Lord High Admiral, to provide ships with all expedition for the transporting of the men, ammunition, arms, and other provisions that were thus ordered to be sent to Ireland: the Parliament having resolved to see moneys supplied for the performance of this service. But notwithstanding the ordinance of Parliament, the Earl of LEICESTER it seems made a scruple of raising men to be employed in the war in Ireland, without the Kings commission: and this being communicated to the House by the Lords committees for

CHARLES I. Irish affairs, the Lords, according to the power given them by his Majesty mentioned in that ordinance, thought fit to order again, "that the said Lord Lieutenant shall have full power by virtue of this order to levy men according to the order given him from the Parliament, in the interim, until his Majesty shall grant him a commission under the great seal of England for his warrant for so doing." The House of Commons being also made acquainted with his Lordship's scruple, agreed to a resolution that he should proceed to raise men for the service by virtue of the ordinance of Parliament.—It appears very strange, that a separate vote of the two houses should be thought to give an authority, to which the ordinance of Parliament had not been deemed sufficient.

NALSON.

About the same time a letter from the Lord HOWARD, dated at Edinburgh the second of November, and directed to the Lord Keeper, was produced and read in the House of Lords; the purport of which was this: "That the King had again moved the Parliament of Scotland to take the business of Ireland into further consideration; and tho' they will not do any thing in it till they hear from the Parliament of England, yet they have taken a survey of what shipping and boats they have to transport men in, and what number of men they are able to send over if need be; and they find they are able to land a considerable number of men in the North of Ireland, and that with more speed and less charge than it can be done from any other part of the King's dominions, and their Highlanders are conceived proper to fight with the Irish in their own kind and country amongst hills and bogs." On the next day the Lord Keeper reported a conference with the commons; in which MR. PYM delivered by command of that House divers heads agreed unto by them, as instructions to be sent to the commissioners of both Houses then attending on his Majesty in Scotland, in which they desire their Lordships to join with them. "First, you shall humbly inform his Majesty, that the propositions made to the Parliament of Scotland, concerning their assistance for suppressing the rebellion in Irehand, hath been fully considered and debated by both Houses of Parliament here; and their wise and brotherly expressions and proceedings are apprehended and entertained here by us, not only with approbation but with thankfulness: wherefore we desire that his Majesty will be pleased, that you, in the name of the Lords and Commons of England, give public thanks.

NALSON.

RUSHWORT.

thanks to the states of the Parliament of Scotland, for their care and readines to employ the forces of that kingdom for the reducing the rebellious subjects of Ireland to their due obedience to his Majesty and the Crown of England. Secondly, you shall further make known to his Majesty, that in the great and almost universal revolt of the natives of Ireland, cherished and fomented as we have cause to doubt by the secret practices and encouragements of some foreign states ill-affected to the Crown, and that the northern parts of that kingdom may with much more ease and speed be supplied from Scotland than from England, we humbly desire and beseech his Majesty, to make use of the assistance of his Parliament and subjects of Scotland, for the present relief of those parts of Ireland which lie nearest to them; according to the treaty agreed upon and confirmed in both Parliaments, and this affectionate and friendly disposition now lately expressed, as is more particularly specified in the fifth article. Thirdly, you shall present to his Majesty the copy inclosed of the declaration which we have sent into Ireland, for the encouragement of his good subjects there, and for the more speedy and effectual opposing of the rebels; and in the execution and performance of our expressions therein made of zeal and faithfulness to his Majesty's service, we have already taken care for fifty thousand pounds to be presently borrowed and secured by Parliament. We have likewise resolved to hasten the Earl of LEICESTER, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, very speedily to repair thither, and forthwith to raise a convenient number of horse and foot for securing Dublin and the English Pale, with such other parts as remain in his Majesty's subjection, intending to second them with a far greater supply. Fourthly, we have further ordered and directed, that his Majesty's arms and munition lying in the castle of Carlisle, shall be transported into the North parts of Ireland for the supply of Carricfergus and other his Majesty's forts and garrisons there; and that a convenient number of men shall be sent from the North parts of England, for the better guard and defence of those forts and countries adjoining; and that a large proportion of arms and other munition shall be speedily convey'd out of his Majesty's stores to West-Chester, to be disposed of according to the direction of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for arming the men to be sent from England, and such other of his Majesty's loyal subjects as may be raised in Ireland. Fifthly, and because

CHARLES I. we understand that the rebels are like with great strength to attempt the ruin and destruction of the British plantation in Ulster, we humbly advise his Majesty, by the counsel and authority of his Parliament in Scotland, to provide that one regiment consisting of a thousand men furnished and accomplished with all necessary arms and munition, as shall seem best to their great wisdom and experience, may with all possible speed be transported into Ireland, under the command of some worthy person well affected to the reformed religion and the peace of both kingdoms, and well enabled with skill and judgment and reputation for such an employment; which forces we desire may be quartered in those Northern parts for the opposing the rebels, and the comfort and assistance of his Majesty's good subjects there; with instructions from his Majesty and the Parliament of Scotland, that they shall upon all occasions pursue and observe the directions of the Lord Lieutenant, his Lieutenant General, or the Governor of Ireland, according to their authority derived from his Majesty and the Crown of England. Sixthly, and as touching the wages and other charges needful which this assistance will require, we would have you in our name to beseech his Majesty to commend it to our brethren the estates of the Parliament of Scotland to take it into their care, on the behalf of his Majesty and this kingdom, to make such agreements with all the commanders and soldiers to be employed, as they would do in the like case for themselves; and to let them know for our parts we do wholly rely upon their honourable and friendly dealing with us, and will take care that satisfaction be made accordingly."

RUSHWORT. To these six articles the Lords assented, making only this alteration in which the Commons acquiesced; "that a thousand Scots for the present be sent over into Ireland, with an intimation of a desire of nine thousand more, to make up ten thousand men, if occasion be, according to such articles as shall be agreed upon with the Parliament of England." But to these the Commons had added two other articles, complaining of the great miseries and distempers which for several years had afflicted all his Majesty's kingdoms, and had issued from the false and malicious practices of some in places of council and authority about the King; many of whom they enumerated with great asperity, and with more passion than truth. "To the

the same evil counsellors they profess to impute the cause of the conspiracies and commotions then in Ireland; who, if they were still to continue in credit and authority, would apply those aids which the Parliament might raise for subduing that rebellion to the fomenting it, and in the end to the destruction of the Protestant religion and all his loyal subjects in both kingdoms. They beseech him therefore to change these councils, and to employ such Ministers as shall be approved of by his Parliament:" and if his Majesty will not condescend to this supplication, they proceed to threaten him in plain terms, "that they shall resolve upon some such way of defending Ireland from the rebels, as may concur to the securing themselves from such mischievous councils and designs, as have been and still are in practice against them, as they believe; and to commend those aids, which this great necessity would require, to the custody and disposing of such persons as they had cause to confide in." The Lords had not yet lost all spirit; and tho' they did not put a direct negative to these articles, which bore so hard and so unceremoniously upon the Crown, yet they evidently shewed their dislike of them by deferring the debate upon them till another day: and when the Commons afterwards in a conference pressed the Lords to agree with them in these articles, relating to evil councils and counsellors, as they had done in the others, and they would tarry four or five days for their Lordship's resolutions, yet the Peers still persisted in putting off the consideration of those articles to a day which never came. They agreed however to a petition, which was to be sent to his Majesty with those instructions, in the following words;

CHARLES I.
A. 1641.

To the KING's most excellent Majesty.

RUSHWORT.
NATSON.

The humble petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

Most gracious Sovereign,

Whereas this messenger, MR. PICKERING, is employed with instructions to our committees in Scotland, to petition your Majesty to propound to your Parliament of Scotland, our desire of some aids from that kingdom for the suppressing of the rebels in Ireland; if it fall out that your Majesty shall be come out of Scotland, or our committees, before the arrival of this messenger there, we

CHARLES I. humbly beseech your Majesty to give authority to the said
MR. PICKERING to present the said instructions to the
A. 1641. Parliament of Scotland, and to bring back their answer to the Parliament of England.

RUSHWORT. After this, an order made by the House of Commons was read and agreed to; "that an ordinance of Parliament may pass, to engage the honour credit and authority of both Houses of Parliament, for the securing and repaying to the city the fifty thousand pounds with interest, desired to be borrowed of them for the occasions of Ireland; and that a provisional act shall pass with all speed for repayment of the said sum with interest within six months." At
NALSON. the same time an ordinance of Parliament, that had passed concerning Irish affairs, was read, as follows: Whereas there is just cause to conceive that divers ill-affected persons here, being natives or inhabitants of Ireland, do intend to pass over thither to join with the rebels, it is ordained by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that no Irishman shall pass out of any of the parts of this kingdom to return into Ireland, without special licence of the committees of both Houses for Irish affairs, or the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-council, or of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It is further ordered, that no arms, munition, or powder, shall be transported, without such licence as is aforesaid. It is likewise ordained by the same Lords and Commons, that whereas upon the perusal of divers letters and other intelligence here, there is just cause to suspect that divers of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland had some hand in the conspiracy and rebellions of the Irish, that the Lord Lieutenant shall certify from time to time, during his abode in England, into Ireland, the names of such suspected persons, and the grounds and reasons of the suspicion; and that thereupon the Lords Justices of Ireland and the rest of his Majesty's Council there, shall enter into examination of the said parties, and shall have power to commit them to prison till the truth may be fully discovered; that so they may either be cleared if they be innocent, or if they be found guilty, they may be proceeded against according to the laws: and that this ordinance of Parliament shall be a sufficient warrant to the Lord Lieutenant Lords Justices and Council aforesaid.—There is something so extremely silly and ridiculous in the latter half of this ordinance, in suspecting some of the subjects in Ireland to have had a hand in the conspiracy and rebellion there,—for who else had any hand

in it ?—and in giving authority to the Lord Lieutenant and Lords Justices, to do what they had already a full power to do by their commissions, and what they certainly would do of themselves, if there was occasion, that we are obliged I think, to suppose the Parliament excessively fond of their power in making ordinances, or they would never have made them to purposes so unnecessary and impertinent.

CHARLES I.
A. 1641.

NALSON.

The Lord Admiral next acquainted the House, that he had command and directions from his Majesty to send some ships for the guarding the Irish coasts, and also some ships to keep the narrow seas ; because his Majesty conceived, that the rebellion in Ireland is fomented from abroad, and that they expect some supply from foreign parts.—In other times of order, and of decent regard to royal authority, such a direction as this from the Sovereign to the Lord High Admiral, would have been deemed a sufficient warrant : nay a neglect, or a disobedience to this command, would be thought a crime and a misdemeanour of no small degree. But at this time the Parliament had assumed the supreme dictatorship of the whole state ; and little more of sovereignty was then left to the King, than the name, and mere appearance. It doth not belong to this history, to shew for what reasons, and by what steps, this strange revolution in the government was brought about : in what manner the King assumed an arbitrary power the first fifteen years of his reign, and intended to render himself absolute ; and how the House of Commons obliged him to redress their grievances and to secure the liberties of the people, but not stopping at this just resistance, grew to be greater tyrants than the King. This is too well known already, I suppose, to all who will read this history ; and if it is not, this is not a place to relate it in : a writer of the history of England in those times must be consulted for that account, if the reader can meet with one that is impartial enough to lay it before him with truth and faithfulness ; which I have never met with. But in this present work, I confine myself entirely to what relates to Ireland, or is so connected with the affairs of it at that time, as makes it necessary to be mentioned : and therefore I proceed to relate, that the Lord High Admiral, instead of obeying the King's directions as the immediate servant of the Crown, desired the directions of the Parliament in what manner he should comply with his Majesty's orders in this particular ; and it was resolved to have

CHARLES I. would have thought, to have protected it ;—fired all the houses and villages in the neighbourhood ; and butchered many people of all ages and sexes in the town and country round about. His brother **TIRLOGH** was equal to him, if he did not exceed him, in acts of cruelty : nor were their followers at all unwilling to execute their instructions ; but giving a loose to the mortal hatred which they bore the British and the Protestants, rivers of blood were inhumanly shed. The reader's humanity will be too much shocked with a particular recital of their sanguinary measures. Let it suffice here therefore to say, that every thing which the most savage ferocity could suggest was put in practice by the common soldiers ; and their massacres were committed with such a variety of hellish tortures, and with so many circumstances of horror, as is scarcely to be paralleled in any history. Nay their inbred hatred to the English, did not confine itself to their persons and their houses, but extended even to the poor cattle ; many thousands of which they destroyed with the most senseless and lingering tortures, merely for being English.

But tho' **SR. PHELM** was not yet at the height of his cruelty, yet he was at the height of his success ; for he never succeeded after the first week, at the end of which he began the massacre, in any one enterprise that he undertook. In the last wars against **TYRONE**, **Dundalk** in the county of **Lowth** had been a frontier town to secure the Pale ; and had so well defended itself, that with all the power he had he could never get it into his hands. But at this time, tho' a company of the army lay there, yet the Lieutenant who commanded, having neither arms nor ammunition nor men in readiness, complied with the inclinations of the inhabitants towards the rebels, and without striking a blow delivered up the place. After this success, they marched to **Ardee**, a little town further up in the county of **Lowth**, which was immediately surrendered ; and which lay within seven miles of **Drogheda**. The Lord **MOORE** had removed from his house to this place for safety ; it being within the Pale, and in the province of **Leinster** : and here he had the command of a troop of horse and two companies of foot, with **SR. JOHN NETERVILLE**, eldest son to the Viscount of that name, under him. But instead of being of use to him, he fomented the ill affection of the inhabitants, raised fears and rumors, sought

in the stile of a Monarch, "according to our royal intention;" and subscribing his letters as Earl of TYRONE. CHARLES I.
A. 1641.

It appears from the account which I have given of the common Irish, in my former volume, that far from imagining there was any thing very criminal in acts of rapine and plunder, they rather deemed them to be heroical. To such a people, who imagine there is no great heinousness in their offence, the first general offers of pardon are seldom made without effect. Their Chief therefore took care that their hands should be dipped in blood; and that they should exercise such cruelty to the Protestants and British as must make them despair of pardon. But whether this was the scheme of SR. PHELM and his confederates to keep his men together, by making all accommodation and laying down of arms impossible, or to make his soldiers terrible by their cruelty, which he could not assure himself of by their valour; and whether it was owing to the suggestion of others, or to the cowardliness of his own heart, it is not easy for us to determine; perhaps these motives might all concur. But it is certain that he first began and encouraged those massacres, which have justly rendered his memory execrable to posterity, and left such a stain upon his nation and religion—whether it should do so, or not—as will never be wiped away. There is one circumstance which inclines people to think, that his cruelty was rather owing to the violence of his nature, than to any policy; which cruelty on some occasions approached to rage and frenzy. On any news of ill success, he would immediately order all his prisoners to be murdered, or some other act of barbarous and senseless vengeance to be committed. In one of these fits, he ordered MR. BLANEY, Knight of the shire of Monaghan, to be hanged in his own garden; and the old Lord CHARLEMONT to be shot: In another, when he heard that the rebels had been repulsed, and several of the clan of O NEILS slain in their attack of the castle of Augher, he ordered all the English and Scots within three parishes to be killed. But when he was told of the taking of Newry by Lord CONWAY, he went in haste and fury to Ardmagh, and in breach of the capitulation made by himself under hand and seal, as before mentioned, he ordered an hundred people to be murdered, burnt the town, and the cathedral dedicated to ST. PATRICK;—a name revered enough by the Irish, one would

CHARLES I. ration that he made at first. There is no name nor authority at all to the paper; and it might therefore be owned or disclaimed just as they pleased, and as they found it. was either of service or prejudice to their cause. It was in the name of all the Roman Catholicks of that Kingdom, "who profess a pure and immutable allegiance to the King, because he had granted them some liberty of religion, but who had suffered hard oppressions from their governors to the ruin of their lives, estates, and honours. They complain of the malignant envious humour of the English Parliament, against them and their religion, as well as to draw the power of the King out of his hands: and therefore they had taken up arms to regain his Majesty's prerogative, and to secure the liberty of their consciences and their country." This is the substance of the manifesto: and their view in dispersing it was to put a gloss upon their cause, and by representing the great danger of an extirpation of their religion, to engage all the Papists in Ireland to join with them, and to procure aids from foreign Princes of the same communion. To this purpose they dispatched a friar to Cardinal RICHLIEU; who detaining him five weeks to see how their attempt succeeded, they sent another friar to him with an account of all their proceedings: upon this information, the Cardinal assured them that arms for two thousand two hundred men should be sent to Wexford; and if they could not be landed there should be carried to Carlingford. An account of this was sent by Mr. WISHART, a Scotchman who had been a prisoner among the rebels, to MR. PYM: but that zealous patriot, who was ready upon all occasions to make use of pretended plots, and invented discoveries of designs against the commonwealth, thought fit to keep this intelligence in his pocket; which, if it does not shew, that he and his party had measures to keep with that Cardinal for the furtherance of their project—as it is highly probable—yet it shews, that the Patriotism of MR. PYM, was, like that of many in our own time, a cloak to cover his animosity or ambition—We must now turn to what was doing in other parts of the country, under other leaders of the rebels.

The reduction of the county of Cavan under O'REILY, and his humanity to the English, have been already mentioned. About this time, they sent a remonstrance of their grievances to the Lords Justices and Council; which,

which, Bishop BURNET tells us in the life of BEDEL, CHARLES I.
 was drawn up by that pious prelate out of matter presented
 to him by the rebels: but Mr. TALBOT, a Gentleman A. 1641.
 of that county, writes to the Lords Justices, that he
 understood from Mr. O REILY, that this remonstrance
 was framed in the Pale, and brought to the Irish in Ca-
 van by Colonel PLUNKET of the county of Dublin. But
 let this be as it might, the remonstrance was to this effect:
 “ That they had for a long time groaned under many
 grievous pressures from the rigorous government of such
 as had been placed over them; but that they found them-
 selves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous
 vexations, either with captivity of their consciences, their
 losing their lawful liberties, or utter expulsion from their
 native seats, without any just grounds given on their parts
 to alter his Majesty’s goodness that had been so long con-
 tinued to them: that they had great cause of fears of all
 this from the proceedings of their neighbour nations;
 and saw it already attempted by certain petitioners for the
 like course to be taken in that kingdom: they had there-
 fore, for the preservation of his Majesty’s honour and
 their own liberties, thought fit to take into their own
 hands for his use and service, such forts and other places
 of strength as might otherwise prove disadvantageous,
 and tend to the utter ruin of the kingdom; that they
 had not the least thought of disloyalty to the King,
 or of doing any hurt to his subjects in their possessions,
 goods or liberty: that they desired the Lords Justices to
 represent their fears and grievances to his Majesty, that
 the liberty of their consciences might be secured, and
 they might be eased of their other burdens in civil go-
 vernment, in such a course as might be settled by their
 Parliament: As to the mischiefs which had happened
 through the disorder of the common people, they the
 Noblemen and Gentlemen of that and the several other
 counties, were willing to endeavour that restitution and sa-
 tisfaction might be made, as they had in part already done.
 They desire an answer as soon as possible, to avoid the
 barbarity and incivility of the common people, who had
 committed many outrages, without their order, privity,
 or consent.” The reader must own that this is very
 civil language: but he must see from what hath been
 related in the first book, that they had no grounds for
 these pretended grievances and fears sufficient to excite
 them to this insurrection; and that nothing could be more
 absurd

CHARLES I. absurd than to seize the King's forts and castles, in order to preserve his honour, and the kingdom from ruin.

A. 1641. The Council however gave them a fair answer; assuring them of their readiness to redress their grievances, if they would make restitution of what they had taken, and forbear all further acts of violence, and that their remonstrance should be sent over to the King; which was done accordingly.

The Sheriff of the county of Longford, a native and a Roman Catholick, soon followed the example of that of Cavan; and raising the posse of the country seized all the castles and houses of the English. This was chiefly inhabited by the clan of the O FARRALLS; who in general were great sufferers by the plantations, though they had deserved well of the Crown in TYRONE's rebellion. They had complained in vain of this undeserved usage many years before; and having now, as they thought, an opportunity of redress offered them, they resolved to follow the example of their neighbours. When they had possessed themselves of the houses, castles, and plantations of the English, they sent a remonstrance of their grievances to the Lord DILLON of Costello, one of the Council; in order to be presented to the Lords Justices, and transmitted to the King. The remonstrance was signed by six and twenty, all of the name of FARRALL; and accompanied with an oath of allegiance to his Majesty, which all of them had taken, and would seal, they said, with their blood. They complain of the severity towards Papists in some neighbouring counties, of the discouragements which they all lie under, and the refusal of the graces of the crown for their lands and liberties, which had brought them to great poverty. They entreated therefore the Lord DILLON, that there might be an act of general pardon without restitution, a liberty of their religion, a repeal of all statutes made against it, and a charter of free subjects for all the native Irish. The reader need not be told, that these overtures for an accommodation came to nothing.

The Ulster rebels however had nothing to ask in particular: their intention was to abolish the British plantations, to re-instate themselves in the possessions of their ancestors, and to return to their old Irish customs, tenures, and ways of life. By the barbarous murders which they had committed, they had made a submission impracticable, and would therefore enter into no treaty; which

which they knew must end in an inquisition into those murders, and in delivering up the guilty to public justice. When the news of their insurrection came to Carrickfergus, Colonel CHICHESTER, who was there, immediately took the proper steps for raising the country, and put all the arms that could be spared from the stores into their hands. The same course was taken in the other towns of the county of Down, which had not been surprised; forming the people into companies, and putting the most considerable Gentlemen of the county over them as their officers. Carrickfergus was the place of greatest strength in those parts; to which the common people, being terrified with the insurrection, thronged in great numbers with all their substance. The reports of desolation still encreasing, many of them put to sea with what wealth they had: which, though it answered the purpose of their own safety, yet served to impoverish the country very much, and made accommodations for the soldiers afterwards greatly wanted. Colonel CHICHESTER being joined by Colonel HILL, and having sent out scouts for intelligence, they wrote to Lord MONTGOMERY of Ardes, who promised to meet them at Lisburn with a thousand men. In their march thither with a body of four hundred and fifty, they were informed of the miscarriage on the design at Dublin; which, from the declaration of the rebels, they imagined to have been taken. When they were all met at Lisburn, they made up an army of above twelve hundred men, with several good old officers of great experience; but for want of a regular authority to command them they could not be kept together. The same course which had been taken by Colonel CHICHESTER at Carrickfergus, was taken also by Colonel MATHEWS at Dromore: who getting together a body of two hundred men, attacked five hundred of the rebels; and having killed three hundred of them without the loss of a man, the next day he pursued the rest who had hid themselves about in the bushes, and starting them like hares out of their forms, killed a hundred and fifty more. These successes shew plainly, that if the English had got together in bodies in other places and faced the enemy in the field, instead of shutting themselves up in towns and castles, their safety would have been much better provided for, and the insurrection probably soon suppressed.

Colonel

CHARLES I.
A. 1642.

CHARLES I. Colonel CHICHESTER, being informed of these commotions about Dromore, drew out two hundred foot, and his own and Lord CONWAY's troops of horse from Lisburn to assist Colonel MATHEWS, who had fresh bodies of the rebels to encounter. In his march he saw several small parties of the rebels; but in places too remote, or too dangerous to be attacked without dividing his forces; or without being diverted from his design of relieving Dromore, which they had possessed. But at the news of his approach, the rebels set the town on fire, and retreated as fast as they could to Newry. The next day, a messenger arrived with a commission from the Lords Justices and Council to Colonel CHICHESTER, and Sir AR. TYRINGHAM, to command in that country; and to order and dispose of places according to their discretion. Armed with this authority, they took all the methods in their power for the defence of the country; in which they were greatly encouraged by the return of the express, which the Lord CHICHESTER, as it hath been mentioned, had sent to Edinburgh to the King; and with the arms and commissions which his Majesty sent.

Had all the other Lords and Gentlemen, in the interest of the Government, been as active and as valorous as these in the northern parts of Ulster, the success of the rebels would have been inconsiderable, and of short duration. They sent for several of the eminent Irish, who had yet remained quiet in their houses, and secured them in the castle of Carrickfergus. They relieved the garrison of Augher, which was stormed under the command of Sir PHELM O NEIL in person, and repulsed the rebels with the slaughter of two hundred men. Dispirited with this defeat, he lay the greatest part of the month of November in his camp at Newry; from whence he sent a body of two or three thousand men to take Lisburn—then called Lisnegarvy—and of which, from the intelligence he had from some within it, he did not doubt. But notwithstanding the suddenness of the attack, of which they had no notice, and though the inhabitants fired the town about their ears, yet the officers of the garrison behaved so gallantly, and were so well seconded by their men, that they repulsed the rebels with some slaughter, and without the loss of a man on their own side. In a few days after, they made another attack with four thousand; but Sir AR. TYRINGHAM having in the mean time re-inforced the

the garrison with near a thousand men, the rebels were a second time repulsed with great loss. The same ill success attended Sir PHILIM with three thousand men in an attack of Castle-derrick, in his own county of Tyrone; and in his march to burn Rapho in the county of Donnegal. In short his forces were routed in almost all the Northern parts; and finding his affairs in this ill situation, and that he was daily losing ground, he marched Southward in order to form the siege of Drogheda.

But before we leave the province of Ulster, it is necessary to take notice of an accusation, which the Irish writers bring against the English and Scots in Carrickfergus; "who, they say, committed the first massacre in Ireland, by murdering in one night, about the beginning of November, all the inhabitants of the territory of the island of Magee, to the number of above three thousand, men, women, and children, all innocent persons, in a time when none of the Catholics of that country were in arms or rebellion." This accusation, I presume, will not a little startle the reader; who hath seen that several murders were committed in the three first days of the insurrection; above an hundred particularly by RORY MACGUIRE in one place: and though the latter popish writers who vindicate the accusation, excuse this contradiction by limiting the sense of the word MURDER, or rather by extending that of MASSACRE to a much greater number than the word Murder was ever thought to signify, yet this evasion is too pitiful. Let it however avail for what it may: it will less excuse the falshood of this accusation to say, as they have said in excuse for it, that it was the first massacre committed in ULSTER; because the author of the accusation has affirmed, "that it was the first massacre committed on either side in IRELAND." If we suppose the author not to have had a precise idea of the word massacre, which is an indiscriminate slaughter, in order to save his credit we must also suppose him not to know the meaning of the word COUNTRY; because he says, that this massacre was at a time when none of the Catholics "of that country" were in arms or rebellion. Will that expression convey an idea to the reader of no other part of the county of Antrim, but the narrow island of Magee itself, which is a peninsula adjoining to the town of Carrickfergus; or will it not naturally lead him to suppose that it means the adjacent country? To be sure

CHARLES I. he will understand it in the latter sense, and then it is absolutely false: for not only in the county of Antrim in which this island stood, but in the county of Down which runs up to it, the rebels had been in arms before the beginning of November, even from the very first day of the insurrection. Supposing the fact therefore of a massacre there to be true, yet the circumstances of its being the first, and before any of the Catholics of that country had been in arms, are manifestly falsified.

A. 1641.

But as the fact of so great a massacre is strenuously insisted upon, it may be worth while to examine its credibility. The island, or rather the peninsula of MAGEE, which is artfully enough called a territory, that the reader may be led to suppose it a large district, capable of supporting a numerous race of inhabitants, is a long narrow tongue of land, three miles in length, and at a medium a mile in breadth, at that time not cultivated, and without a single town. If any one can believe that such a territory was so thoroughly then thronged as to contain above three thousand inhabitants, when the whole kingdom of Ireland was extremely thin of people, he may believe it for himself, but he should not desire to impose it upon other people. If there is any truth in the fact of a massacre there, which is very probable, it may be confidently affirmed that it was not the first in Ireland, nor in Ulster, nor before any Catholics of that country had been in arms: and it may be supposed, in order to reconcile it with probability, that the number reported by the author was three hundred, but being written in figures was easily mistaken in the copy for three thousand. I have been the more particular in exposing this falshood, because it is produced by the late writers above-mentioned; as well as Abbé GEOGHAN, in his French History of Ireland, about three years ago.

Whilst these things passed in Ulster, the Lords Justices and Council were taking all the measures possible for defence against the rebels; but calculated rather for their own safety, than for that of the kingdom. Enough had been done already, one would think, for the security of the castle and city of Dublin: but as though the Council thought nothing was enough for their own safety, and as though they cared little what became of the rest of the people, in short, as though they more inclined now to continue than suppress the rebellion, they sent for all the horse of the army except five troops, and all the
foot

foot to Dublin. Not satisfied with this, they gave a com-
mission to Sir CHA. COOTE to levy a thousand men more
there; which he accomplished in a few days, out of those
who had escaped, and survived their hardships in the
North. Had this army, when it was thus collected,
been sent under proper officers into Ulster—and there
had been Deputies who had suppressed as formidable a
rebellion with as small a number of forces—the rebels
that were in arms would have been defeated; and the
report only of such an army marching against them
would have deterred others from rising. If they had not
heads or hearts amongst them capable of forming such
a resolution—and one of these must be supposed—yet
surely when the Earl of ORMONDE, who by this time
was come to them with his troop of horse, proposed to
march immediately with the horse and foot that could be
spared, and attack the rebels before they had any supply
of arms, they were inexcusable in rejecting his proposal.
There must have been some other reason for this re-
fusal, than fears for their own safety, and the castle
of Dublin: for besides fifteen hundred old well disci-
plined foot, they had near five thousand new raised men,
and three hundred horse. What their real motives were
for this astonishing refusal one cannot say: but the want
of arms for all the men, which was the only reason they
gave themselves, was so notoriously false—there being
arms and tents and all other necessaries in the stores
for above ten thousand men—that it could be used only
to cover motives which they were ashamed of owning.
It appears from several letters of Sir WIL. ST. LEGER,
a brave old officer and President of Munster, to the Earl
of ORMONDE, that they were so much afraid of their
orchards and gardens about Dublin that they could think
of nothing else. But whether it was owing to this
cowardice, or to any directions they had from the faction
in the English Parliament, whose creatures many of the
Council were, or to their own hopes of lucre from the
forfeited estates by the spreading of the rebellion, that
they did not care to crush it in the bud, which some
parts of their conduct gave too much room to suspect,
it is impossible for us to determine. But most certain
it is, that they did not take one vigorous step to im-
prove any opportunity that was offered of quelling this
rebellion; and that they did all they could to prevent
the Earl of ORMONDE from doing the same.

A. 1641.

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The Lords Justices and Council were not only extremely wanting in vigour and dispatch, but they neglected the rules of policy which all wise states observe in conjunctures of this nature. It is true that at this time they published a proclamation with a promise of pardon; but then they took care to confine it so much to places, and to limit it to such conditions, and dates, as made it of little use. The reader expects no doubt that it was principally to operate in the province of Ulster, where alone almost at that time there had been any insurrection; and that it should have been a general pardon to all Gentlemen not concerned in any massacre, murder, or deliberate act of cruelty, in order to produce as well a distraction of counsels among the rebels, as a thought in every man of providing for his own safety, and, with a defection of some of the leaders, the desertion of their followers. This indeed would have been wisdom; and in the history of all ages it hath been found by experience to have had good success. But in this case there was nothing like it. The proclamation of pardon was to no other rebels than those of the four counties of Meath, Westmeath, Lowth, and Longford; in the two first of which no body of rebels had then appeared, only some few plunderers; and from this all freeholders, and all that had shed blood, or were in prison for any spoil, were expressly excepted: the time of submission was within ten days after the date of the proclamation; and the goods that had been wrongfully taken away, and consequently dispersed into various hands, were also then to be restored. Let the reader determine whether this proclamation could be intended to strike at the root of the rebellion, or answer any valuable purpose. The fears of the Council however encreasing with the outrages of the rebels, under a pretence of shewing confidence in the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, but in reality to get their assistance, in the beginning of November, they gave out several commissions of martial law to them, "empowering them to pursue and put to death in battle or otherwise, according to their discretion, all the traitors and their adherents; and to take or spoil all their castles, houses, goods or territories; or otherwise according to their discretion, to receive any of them to mercy, and to forbear the devastation before mentioned." There was another commission given to the chief persons of quality in the Pale and the parts adjacent; which, besides the power of martial law,

law, gave them authority to raise the forces of the county, and to have the command of them in opposing the incursions of the rebels. But as these governors, with all their power, could do little without arms, to Lord GORMANSTON there were delivered arms for five hundred men in the county of Meath, for three hundred in the county of Kildare, for three hundred in the county of Lowth, three hundred for the county of West-meath, and three hundred in the county of Dublin, with match and bullet proportionable to them all.

On the fifth of November, the administration sent a second dispatch to the King in Scotland, and letters to the Privy-council, the Lord Keeper, the Speaker of the house of Commons of England, and to their Lord Lieutenant; in all which they gave an account of their imminent danger, and the necessity of sending them relief immediately, or the kingdom would be lost. To the Lords of the Council they gave a particular detail of the progress of the rebellion: "that many had been already slain, and some hewed to pieces in the province of Ulster; that the counties of Longford and Leitrim had joined in the insurrection, and those of Meath and Lowth had fallen upon the English near about them. They held it their duty therefore to press for their speedy sending over ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, together with some able commanders, and an hundred thousand pounds in money; without all which, they must repeat it again and again, the kingdom would be utterly lost, the Protestants and English all destroyed, and a new conquest must be made of Ireland." It is very certain that the poison of this rebellion, which had hitherto been confined to the Northern counties and their confines, began at this time to be diffused into other parts of the kingdom; and when the reader considers the cowardly, or the negligent conduct of the administration—to give it the softest epithets—he will not wonder that it should do so. If they complained, and complained with reason, of the little regard shewn to their distresses by the English Parliament, the loyal people of Ireland had full as much reason to complain of them. They made a great bustle with their proclamations and commissions; but they went no further. They shut themselves up at Dublin surrounded with a good army and plenty of ammunition; but the distresses of the country, which were sounded in their ears every hour, served

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CHARLES I. to little other purpose than to add to their fears, and to make a further provision for their own safety. Thus on the twelfth day of November when the Irish in the county of Wicklow rose up most furiously, spoiling, robbing, and murdering all the English inhabitants, burning their houses, and driving away their cattle, the council, tho' convinced of the importance of driving the rebels thence which was in their neighbourhood, yet terrified to death at the thoughts of diminishing the guard of their own persons, sat silently looking on, and gave not the least assistance whatsoever to their miserable fellow subjects. The rebels being thus unmolested, even under the nose of government, and left to exercise their cruelties at their pleasure, it is no wonder that the Irish of Wexford and Carlow two adjoining counties in the same province of Leinster at a further Distance from Dublin, should follow the example of their neighbours. The county of Kildare was even nearer than that of Wicklow; and gave great room to suspect that the arms and ammunition, which had been given them for the defence of the English, would be turned against them. But neither the distresses of the people who were under their care, nor the example of the defeats which were given the rebels by small bodies of the army in the northern counties; in short neither the honour of the state, nor their own reputation, could prevail on them to diminish their own strength but for a day. The objects of wretchedness which arrived every hour at Dublin, covered with rags or almost naked, widows lamenting the murder of their husbands, mothers of their children destroyed before their faces, infants ready to perish in their mother's bosoms, some stupified with grief, others distracted with their losses, and all having no place where to lay their heads, nor food to supply their hunger, these shocking spectacles, instead of animating them with a proper spirit to scourge and suppress the villanies of the rebels, added only to their amazement and their terror; unless we will suppose a much worse disposition: And if the members of the government, who had all the power and so much strength in their hands, were thus benumbed with fear, we may easily guess at the distraction of the inhabitants, who figured in their imagination all these calamities and cruelties at their gates. Every man began to consider himself and his own private preservation, as the example had been set them, before that of the publick,

publick. Those who lived in the suburbs removed their families into the city ; the Council and people of quality shut themselves up in the castle ; where even many began to suspect their safety, and embarked with all possible speed on board the ships in the harbour ; and to heighten their calamities, it was the most dismal tempestuous season that had ever been known for so great a length of time in the memory of man. But the Lords Justices were come to a determined resolution, not more stupid than it was fatal, to do nothing more with the army than secure Drogheda, and the Metropolis, till they received supplies from England ; of which, on the tenth of November, they had an assurance in the declaration of the English Parliament, already recited, which then arrived. Elated with the expectation of powerful succours out of England, they thought they had no occasion of any further assistance within the kingdom ; and therefore very imprudently sent for the five hundred arms that had been given to Lord GORMANSTON, thereby renouncing any confidence in him ; as also for the three hundred that had been sent to Louth, tho' that county was the most exposed of any. The other arms which had been delivered out were also sent for ; but they were dispersed into so many hands that it was impossible to recover above an hundred and fifty. Nothing had happened to give occasion for any further suspicion of the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, than when the arms were entrusted with them ; and therefore the Council ought either not to have put these arms into their hands, or they ought to have let them remain there. But they were visibly under such impressions of fear—to say the best in their favour—that their counsels were not to be accounted for on the principles of reason.

On the day after they had received the declaration of the English Parliament, the Lords Justices and Council published a Proclamation, “ requiring every person whatsoever, not having necessary cause of residence in the city of Dublin and the suburbs thereof, and the places within two miles about the same, to be approved of by the Council of war, to repair to their respective homes within twenty four hours after the publication of the proclamation, upon pain of death.” This was a rigorous treatment of many Gentlemen, of the Pale particularly, who had retired to Dublin as a place of security for their persons, whilst their goods and cattle were plundered by the robbers ; who took

CHARLES I. advantage of these troubles to spoil and plunder tho' they did not join the rebels. This measure was not only therefore very inconvenient to those Gentlemen, but it proved in the end to many of them very fatal. For they were not only obliged to return to their houses without arms, exposed in a short time after to the violence of the rebels, whom they were unable to resist, but also to pay them contributions for leave to live in quiet, and to have a constant intercourse with them; which in the eye of the law is treason, and which induced several to join with them. This was particularly the case of **SR. ROB. TALBOT**; who, after engaging against the rebels in defence of the English, for which his two best houses were burnt down, and he had retreated with his family to Dublin, where he had offered to raise men if the Council would furnish him with arms, had not leave to remain at Dublin; but was forced by this proclamation upon pain of death to depart he knew not whither, and therefore in the end to enter into the confederacy against his will. It will need all the candour of the reader to make any excuse for the violence and ingratitude of the administration towards this Gentleman; especially when it is added, that at the first breaking out of the insurrection, he made an offer to **PARSONS** to secure the heads of the clans in the county of Wicklow if he would authorise him to do so; assuring him that the clans would not stir whilst their Chiefs were in custody as hostages for their fidelity; and that it was the most effectual way to prevent an insurrection in that province. The wholsomeness of that advice must be evident to every man of common sense; and why the Minister would not take it, unless he was in reality frightened out of his wits—which is the best that can be said—it is not difficult by this time for us to guess.

The reader may remember that the Parliament had in August last adjourned to November, with the consent of the Lords Justices, in order to continue the session, till the King's Graces—as they are called—which their committee were bringing over, had passed into acts. He may also remember, that in a day or two after the conspiracy was discovered, the administration had prorogued the Parliament to February; “supposing that it would draw such a concourse of people to Dublin, as would give opportunity under that pretence of assembling and taking new counsels.” Some few of them however were of course to meet in Parliament on the day of the adjournment, in order

order to declare the prorogation. But MR. BOURKE, CHARLES L. who was one of the committee sent into England, already mentioned, complained of the prorogation to the Lord DILLON of Kilkenny about a week before : insisting on the injury which it did to the nation in general, and to the members in particular, who were thereby precluded from expressing their loyalty and obedience to the King, and from shewing their desires to suppress this dangerous rebellion. The Lord DILLON informing the Council of this uneasiness, that MR. BOURKE had gone so far as to say, that if the Ministry persisted in the prorogation, the members would have reason to resent it; and would complain to the King of this injustice, he was sent for to the board ; where, in a modest manner he delivered himself to the same effect. Upon this, the Council entered into a debate, how far it might be thought reasonable to condescend to the desires of the committee. The Earl of ORMONDE, the Lord Viscount DILLON, and some others, were of opinion, that the prorogation ought not to take place, but that the Parliament should sit according to the adjournment made in August ; and this opinion was well supported. For besides the supplies of money that the Commons might give—which would not only procure credit as soon as they were voted, but would also be collected much sooner than they could hope for in any other way—they urged the very ill condition of the whole kingdom on account of the rebellion in Ulster, which had already reached some of the counties of Leinster, and was spreading into Conaught ; that all the nation was in great expectation of having the King's Graces, that the committee had brought over, confirmed in this session of Parliament, for which the adjournment was assented to ; and therefore that a disappointment in this very important article, would probably exasperate them to such a degree, that the insurrection would become general and draw out the war into a great length : whereas it was now so easy to suppress them, that the Earl of ORMONDE offered, if they would supply him with arms for such volunteers as would follow him, and give him power to take up provisions in the country thro' which he marched, he would undertake to put an end to the rebellion within a month. But the Lords Justices, and their party in the Council, were not to be won with these reasons ; and insisted on the prorogation. They said “ it would highly trench on the wisdom and gravity of the board, to alter a resolution so
solemnly

CHARLES I. solemnly taken up, and made known to the whole kingdom by a proclamation; that it would be of dangerous consequence to bring so great a number of people into the city at such a time; that many of the Protestant members, and otheres well affected of both houses, were so dispersed, or shut up, that they could not come to the meeting of the Parliament; which would give the Irish such a Majority as would enable them to carry every thing in their own way, and joining with the ill affected in the city might destroy the State and the rest of the English in those parts." These reasons, which were too shallow to be the true ones, in a city from which all strangers had been banished by proclamation, which was guarded by a garrison of above four thousand men, and in a Parliament from which most of the native Irish were absent, did not satisfy the other Councillors; but on a vote it was carried to abide by the prorogation. It was thought fit however to do something to make this measure less disagreeable to those who had complained of it: and after a long debate on all particular circumstances, it was agreed that the Earl of ORMONDE, SR. JOHN TEMPLE, and SR. PIERS CROSBY, should have a meeting with some of the most leading members in the House of Commons, to inform them that the Council approved of their inclination to do something in the Parliament that might tend to the suppression of the rebellion: and tho' they could not consent to disanull their prorogation, yet they would so far comply with them as to limit it to a shorter time; and would consent to their present sitting for one day, if they would immediately draw up a protestation against the rebels, with whom they might appoint a committee to treat about laying down their arms: and as to their grievances, the Council were ready to receive them, and would transmit them directly to his Majesty for redress. The members of the House of Commons were extremely troubled when they found that the prorogation was not to be altered; but seeing no remedy, they were obliged to take up with what was offered: hoping when the two houses were met in a body, they might prevail with the administration by a joint address, and obtain leave for sitting longer, or for a shorter prorogation. Confiding in these hopes, and in the probability of doing something for the satisfaction of the people and the safety of the kingdom, they seemed tolerably well contented, and undertook to make the protestation in as ample a manner as was desired.

On the day to which they were adjourned, the Lords CHARLES I. and Commons met in Parliament at the usual place in the castle. The garrison was put under arms, and the Justices appointed a guard of musketeers; not to infringe the freedom of the debates, but to secure the persons of those who met there, as well as the safety of the castle. Both the Houses were the thinner, on account of the Proclamation which had been issued for the prorogation: this intention of sitting not having reached the members of Conaught and Munster, and the rebellion having intercepted the Lords and Gentlemen in the province of Ulster. The House of Commons went immediately upon the state of the kingdom, and to frame a protestation against the rebels. Many of the members were very averse to give them that appellation; many of their own houses and estates being in their power, and being unwilling to do any thing that might widen a breach which they all wanted to heal. The House of Commons therefore sent up "a meager cold protestation"—says SR. JOHN TEMPLE—to which the Protestant Lords objected: there being great reason to fear, that if they were not declared rebels, such an omission might be interpreted a seeming approbation of the insurrection. Rejecting therefore some virulent expressions, which might inflame and could not possibly do any good, an accommodation was made, by drawing up the protestation in such terms, as the law adopts in indictments of treason, to which both Houses unanimously consented; and it was as follows:

The Protestation and Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled.

Whereas the happy and peaceable estate of this realm, hath been of late, and is still, interrupted by sundry persons ill affected to the peace and tranquillity thereof, who contrary to their duty and loyalty to his Majesty, and against the laws of God, and the fundamental laws of the realm, have traiterously and rebelliously raised arms, have seized some of his Majesty's forts and castles, and dispossessed several of his Majesty's faithful subjects of their houses, lands and goods, and have slain many of them, and committed other cruel and inhuman outrages and acts of hostility within this realm: The said lords and Commons,

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mons in Parliament assembled, being justly moved with a right sense of the said disloyal rebellious proceedings and actions of the persons aforesaid, do hereby protest and declare, that they the said Lords and Commons from their hearts do detest and abhor the said abominable actions; and that they shall and will to their uttermost power maintain the rights of his Majesty's Crown and Government of this realm, and peace and safety thereof, as well against the persons aforesaid, their abettors and adherents, as also against all foreign Princes, potentates, and other persons and attempts whatsoever: and in case the persons aforesaid do not repent of their aforesaid actions, and lay down their arms, and become humble suitors to his Majesty for grace and mercy, in such convenient time, and in such manner and form as by his Majesty or the chief governor or governors and Council of this realm shall be set down, the said Lords and Commons do further protest and declare, that they will take up arms and will with their lives and fortunes suppress them and their attempts, in such a way as by the authority of the Parliament of this kingdom, with the approbation of his most excellent Majesty, or his Majesty's chief governor or governors of this kingdom, shall be thought most effectual.

The two houses also joined in an ordinance, empowering nine Lords and above twelve Commoners, after receiving directions and authority from the Council, to confer with the rebels in Ulster and other parts, about the cause of their taking up arms, and such other matters as they should be so directed and authorised to confer about; to report all to his Majesty, the Council, or the Parliament, and to proceed according to their directions. As these necessary proceedings could not be dispatched in one day, they continued sitting the next, to the great uneasiness of the Justices; with whose designs says Lord CASTLEHAVEN it seems they did not square; they having often been heard to declare, "hat the more were in rebellion the more lands would be forfeited to them." The two Houses however understanding that they intended to prorogue them on that evening, "they sent some members from each House to the Lords Justices, to desire the continuance of the Parliament, at least till the rebels then few in number were reduced. But they met with an absolute denial, to the great surprise of both Houses, and the general dislike of all knowing and honest men." The Parliament, offended justly as they were at this conduct,

did

did not forget what they owed their country : and though they were not allowed to take any measures themselves to suppress the rebels, yet they passed an ordinance to empower the administration to raise the posse of any counties they saw fit ; to make levies and continue such a number of armed men during the present troubles, under such commanders as the counties should agree to ; and to levy and collect money for the support of the said forces, in such manner and form as the said counties should think fit. They likewise drew up a representation of their sentiments to the King, on the most effectual methods to quell the rebellion, and restore the peace of the nation. To this public dispatch, a committee of the Lords added a private paper of instructions, and sent them by Lord DILLON of Costello, a Protestant and a privy-councillor ; the event of which will be mentioned in its proper place. It shall be said only here, that his Lordship had been one of the committee that was sent into England in the summer ; that he was a man of good parts, very active, generally esteemed, well affected to the Crown, but no friend to the measures which the Ministry in Ireland were then pursuing.

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There was something so very weak, or wicked, in not permitting the Parliament to sit at this critical juncture, that the reader will excuse a reflection or two upon it before I go any further ; in order to shew that the greatest part of the miseries which Ireland underwent in this rebellion, were in a good measure occasioned by the obstinacy, or the evil intentions of those who were then at the helm. In all the periods of our history since Parliaments had an existence, they were ever looked upon as the natural and the best resource in national distresses ; and on less urgent occasions, and rebellions more dangerous than this was then, they had often been called particularly in Ireland. Indeed SR. JOHN DAVYS says, and the history of that country shews it, that such rebellions had been the general cause of holding Parliaments, especially at the reformation, and under Queen ELIZABETH : when religion was the constant pretence of insurrections, and the two Houses were composed mostly of Roman Catholic Members. But now the wisdom of this measure was slighted, when the administration had every favourable circumstance on their side ; and nothing but their own fears and jealousies, or something worse, to set against it. The Members which composed the Parliament were men of great estates and credit in their several counties ; and though they could have

CHARLES I. have nothing to get, yet they had much to lose, and more to fear by the rebellion : and who therefore so proper to advise the measures for suppressing it ? But supposing the resolution and the means they should advise were of no use, yet surely the supplies of money which they might have given, and which they offered to give if they might be allowed to sit, were of great importance at such a juncture, when there was none in the treasury, and when they could not have it so speedily in any other method. There were scarce five Members at that time engaged in the rebellion, and those only of the native Irish : there was no reasonable ground to suspect the rest would join with them, or, in order to remove any suspicion, that they would not exert themselves with zeal ; which whether it was real or pretended would equally serve the state. Every body knows the power which the discovery of a conspiracy gives a government ; and there was no doubt but the administration might have carried every thing that was essential to the service of the Crown, when no one durst openly have opposed any motion made for such an end. In short there never could be stronger or more pressing reasons for the sitting of a Parliament than there were at this time in Ireland. For besides the rebellion actually then on foot, the Graces lately granted by the King, in which the whole nation was concerned, and which arrived after the adjournment, were to be confirmed in this session, and were expected with great impatience. To disappoint them therefore in such an eager expectation of such very important and national benefits, could only serve to irritate those who were well affected, and to make the others desperate. The Ministers, if they knew any thing of the state of the nation, must know this : and yet to aggravate the uneasiness which the prorogation gave to the Parliament and the People, they dismissed the two Houses, without saying a word of the Graces from the King, or giving them any assurance, or even a faint glimmering hope, that they should be passed in another session.

The breaking up of the Parliament in such a manner, and the strange aversion shewn by the Lords Justices to its sitting though but for a day, threw a great part of the nation into despair. It encouraged the rebels, and vastly increased their numbers in many parts of the kingdom. The Ministers had made themselves very unacceptable to the greatest part of the people of consequence, by several measures since the breaking out of this rebellion. But the greatest dis-

discontent of all, as Lord CASTLEHAVEN says, was occasioned by this prorogation: "The Parliament being the only way the nation had to express their loyalty and to prevent their being misrepresented to their Sovereign; which had it been permitted to sit for any reasonable time, would in all likelihood, without any great charge or trouble, have brought the rebels to justice: for the war that afterward ensued, was headed and carried on principally by members that then sat in Parliament: And to say that these Members were all along concerned in the rebellion, or engaged with the first contrivers of it, is to make them not only the greatest knaves, but the veriest fools upon earth: since otherwise they could not have been so earnest for the continuance of the Parliament, whilst sitting in the castle and under the Lords Justices guards, who upon the least intelligence, which could not long be wanting, had no more to do than to shut the gates and make them all prisoners, without any possibility of escape, or hopes of redemption."

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But we must now turn to see what was doing in the country by the rebels. It has already been observed, that all the other provinces, besides Ulster, had generally continued quiet till about the middle of November; when the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, and some others in the provinces of Lienster, joined in the insurrection. The peace of the other parts were however tolerably well preserved till the end of November; the Irish Gentlemen in Conaught and Munster continuing firm; and no man of quality and estate descended from the English race appearing to join and countenance the rebels. In the Province of Conaught, the strength of the English Protestants was very inconsiderable. The Lord Ranelagh was President and Governor of the whole province, except the county of Galway; but he had only his own troop of horse and three companies of foot to defend it. The administration therefore committed the care of the county of Mayo to the Lords DILLON and MAYO, who kept it in order for some months without any assistance from the government; and though some plunderers had joined the Ulster rebels in the county of Leitrim, and made some excursions into Sligo and Roscommon, spoiling Irish as well as English, yet all the Noblemen and Gentry assisting the Lord President, the devastations were soon put a stop to, and the province preserved in obedience to the State. To this no body contributed more than the Earl of CLANRICARDE;

CARDE;

CHARLES I. CARDE; a Roman Catholic, and a Peer of England as well as Ireland, and who by a particular commission was governor of the county and town of Galway. A great deal may be said of his parts, accomplishments, birth, alliances, and estate; but too much can scarcely be said of his good heart and temper. By an hereditary inclination, as well as his own principles, he was strongly attached to the Crown: and having received particular obligations from the King, he remembered them with a gratitude which is not common in any age, and then was very extraordinary. He was but just settled in Ireland when the rebellion began: but being the first man of quality in his county, with a vast estate, and the most considerable Gentlemen in it being some way or other related to him, his presence joined with his incessant zeal and application, were of great advantage to that province. But nothing was of more effect than the care which he took, after the prorogation of the Parliament, to quiet the minds of the people there, by an assurance of their obtaining the Graces of the King which had been ordered for them, with a probability of something further if they preserved their allegiance. To render this assurance still more effectual and authentic, he made application to his Majesty on this head; who, in a letter of the tenth of December, commands him to assure all his subjects of that province who have remained faithful to him and his Crown, that they shall receive the fruits and effects of whatsoever he hath promised and formerly directed for the settlement of their estates. The care and activity of Lord CLANRICARDE in preventing any insurrection in his county, though a very large one, and though not supported with arms and ammunition from the government, were so conspicuous and effectual, that he received the public thanks of the two Houses of Parliament in England, at the end of November.

In the province of Munster, of which **SR. WILLIAM ST. LEGER** was Lord President, the English were very numerous, and very ready to assemble in a body in order to preserve the peace and safety of the country; but they were utterly destitute of arms: and all the solicitations made by **SR. WILLIAM**, which were strong and numerous, could not persuade the Lords Justices and Council to spare him any. He was a brave old soldier, of great experience and activity; and did every thing that it was possible for a man to do with one troop of horse, which was all his guard

guard for the whole province ; a guard scarce sufficient to repress the insolence of robbers in a time of profound peace, much less in a time of such general spoil and disturbance. But with the assistance of the Noblemen and the Gentry of the province it continued quiet for above six weeks. Indeed no one man of Quality, or Gentleman of English blood, either Papist or Protestant, had, as yet joined the rebels ; and even many of the old Irish had expressed the utmost abhorrence of the cruelties which they had committed : Nay many of the leading Roman Catholics, who made a great figure afterwards in the general assembly of the confederates, expressed a great detestation of the rebellion, in their private letters to Lord CLANRICARDE ; and importuned him very strongly to exert all his care and zeal in the suppression of it. So that had the Lords Justices and Council acquitted themselves like men of probity and understanding, here was time enough given them to suppress an insurrection, which for six weeks was confined almost to the province of Ulster, without any Chief that was so considerable as SR. PHELM O NEIL. But it was the great misfortune of that unhappy country, to be governed then by a man that had not one qualification for such a post at such a time ; and to those defects was added great obliquity of heart both toward the King, and toward the Irish. The accusation may be severe, but it is just.

In a few days after the Parliament had been prorogued, the Council sent letters to the Lord Lieutenant, giving a full account of the state of the rebellion pressing earnestly for the supplies of men, money, and arms, which their former letters had requested ; and desiring his Lordship to repair thither as soon as possible to manage the war. But besides this public letter signed by the whole board, another was drawn up the next day signed only by the Justices and their particular friends ; on which, the other Councillors who had signed the former the night before, were not consulted. With these letters, FITZGERALD, a trusty agent, was sent to negotiate with the Earl of LEICESTER, and the leaders of their party in the House of Commons. In the private letter to his Lordship, about which they tell him they expect and hope for his secrecy, after insinuating that they could not open themselves with freedom at the Council board, they inform him of the instructions which they heard had been given to Lord DILLON by a committee of the Lords, already mentioned ;

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CHARLES in which they offer of themselves without aid from England to suppress the rebellion. They beseech his Lordship therefore that no such overture might be accepted; and among other reasons, "because the charge of supplies from England would be abundantly compensated, not only by a firmer peace than had ever yet been settled, but in raising a far more considerable revenue to the Crown than formerly, out of the estates of those who were actors in this rebellion." What the private instructions were that Lord DILLON was entrusted with are not particularly known; because from this information, when he and Lord TAAFE who accompanied him were got to Ware, their persons and papers were seized by order of the English House of Commons; who had no authority over them, but who detained them in custody several months, till they made their escape to the King who was at York: but it was then too late to offer a remedy, and the rebellion was become in a manner general. FITZGERALD resided constantly in London after this, attending the committee of Parliament for Irish affairs; receiving from them, and communicating to the administration at Dublin, such secret advices and directions as were not fit to be imparted in a public dispatch to the whole Council. The Members of the Council whom they shut out of their secrets—such as the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of ORMONDE, the Archbishop of DUBLIN, the Bishops of MEATH and RAPHOE, the Earl of ROSCOMMON, and the Lord Chief-Justice LOWTHER—had made a vigorous effort to save their country by the continuance of the Parliament; and tho' they were outvoted at the board, yet they had pressed their reasoning with so much force and freedom, that the Justices were determined to transact their affairs of privacy without their participation.

The reader must remember, that in the twodays which the Parliament was allowed to sit, a committee was authorised under the great seal to treat with the rebels about laying down their arms. The rebels had been very much disheartened by their late ill success in the North, and by not having been able to draw in a single Nobleman, or Gentleman of any estate, since the insurrection had commenced. But when they saw the false step which the Ministers had taken in proroguing the Parliament for two months, they took courage again. RO. MOORE had sense enough to discern the advantages which this step had

had given his party; and he took care to acquaint them with it. When the committee therefore applied to him, and Colonel MACMAHON, who lay about Dundalk with above two thousand men, they were so elated with the prospect which this ministerial measure had held out to them, that they received the Members very coldly, tore the commission and the letter sent them in an insolent manner, and with great scorn refused all overtures of accommodation. Some of the leading Pópish Priests, who abhorred the cruelties which had been committed, and who protected and saved many of the Protestants, were likewise employed by the Lords Justices to bring about an accommodation: and though they readily engaged in the attempt, and used their utmost endeavours to have accomplished it, yet they could not prevail; Sir P. O NEIL, refusing to enter on any treaty, unless Lord MACGUIRE, and MACMAHON were set at liberty; and the rebels not doubting, that in the general discontent occasioned by the prorogation, they should carry their point all over the kingdom. Besides, MOORE, when he found the ill success of their first pretensions, had sense enough to drop the design of extirpation; and in order to get the English Catholics on their side, without whom they saw they should miscarry, he took care that the declarations against the English should be suppressed, and put the whole strength and merits of their cause on the foot of religion. For this purpose he framed an oath of association to be taken by all his followers, and dispersed over the kingdom; in which the motives to this insurrection were no other than the preservation of their religion, the defence of his Majesty's rights and prerogatives, and the liberties of the subject. This had a wonderful effect in conciliating the minds of the English Catholics; and there was but too much authority given to this pretence, by the conduct of the English Parliament, by the recent provocations given at home, and the much greater hardships that were still expected. For to say nothing of what was done by that Parliament, relating to affairs here which had an affinity to those of Ireland, the House of Commons passed a vote, "that no toleration of the Romish religion should be allowed in Ireland; and that the House of Lords should be desired to join with them in addressing the King, to make a public declaration to that effect." This might serve their own ends perhaps, but was surely

CHARLES I.

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CHARLES I. very unseasonable with regard to Ireland ; where nothing could so much promote the cause of the rebellion, as to

A. 1641. have it thought a mere war of religion. This violence of the Parliament gave too much credit to the reports that were continually flying about, of a design of extirpating the Roman Catholicks : and as this was an age of fears and jealousies, every angry word which arose from heat and zeal in the midst of a debate, or every threat of severity which a wicked policy suggested, were easily swallowed, and in imagination realised.

It appears from the declaration of the English Parliament, already recited, on the first news of the conspiracy, and which was about this time received and published in Ireland by the administration, that they recommended the King's pardon to be granted, to all such as within a convenient time should return to their due obedience. But though the Justices and Council published the declaration, by which all the people of Ireland saw the sense of the English Parliament, yet no regard was paid to this advice. A general pardon offered under such an authority for it, would no doubt have had a very considerable influence ; as well as a reward, which was also advised, for those who should bring in the heads of the ringleaders : and when they saw that neither of these measures were pursued, the people could not help suspecting, that the administration in Ireland had some other design, than a speedy end of this rebellion. After all that has been related of the ministerial measures, the reader will not be surprised to find the rebels now increasing in strength and number. They increased indeed at this time so much, that they attacked and took a house of the Lord MOORE's, guarded by a party of soldiers, within three miles of Drogheda, of which town they threatened a siege ; and so terrified the Council by such a near approach to Dublin, that they granted commissions to raise four regiments of a thousand men each, and four independent companies of foot. In the mean time they sent a regiment of foot and two troops of horse under Sir CHA. COOTE, to secure the country about Navan, in the county of Meath ; and ordered six hundred foot and sixty horse to re-inforce the garrison of Drogheda, and as a convoy to some ammunition and provision that was going thither. The men were raw and undisciplined ; and though Lord ORMONDE, who had now received a commission in form
of

of Lieutenant General from the Lord Lieutenant, on viewing this convoy before they marched, did not think it sufficient, yet the Justices would not alter their order, nor any further diminish their own strength at Dublin.

SR. PAT. WEEMS the commander of this body, received intelligence in his march from Lord GORMANSTOWN, that two thousand foot and five hundred horse of the rebels were at St. Julians-town bridge, which some say he had sent for to intercept them: but the scouts bringing intelligence that there was no enemy there, the march was continued in great security. They had scarce however got a quarter of a mile beyond the bridge, before the rebels were discovered marching towards them in good order, in five bodies of foot, supported with horse on each wing. SR. PATRICK put his men in tolerable order of battle; and drawing up his troop of horse in the front, and being promised to be faithfully seconded, he ordered the trumpet to sound, and advanced to begin the charge: but all his foot, without firing a shot, threw down their arms, and run away as fast as their heels could carry them. Indeed their flight was so swift, that very few were killed: and their commander had nothing to do, but to wheel off with his horse, and make good his retreat with them to Drogheda; which with great difficulty he accomplished without the loss of a man. But tho' this defeat was inconsiderable with regard to the men, yet it put more arms into the hands of the rebels, than they had before among all their forces, with a considerable quantity of ammunition; of which they stood in great need. They did not however think themselves yet strong enough to attempt the siege of Drogheda: and tho' SR. H. TITCHBOURN marched out with an intention to give them battle, yet the mist, which had concealed them in their approach to the King's forces, served them equally well in their retreat. This success, and the stile of the Catholic army which they had assumed, fighting only for their religion which was intended to be extirpated, added several thousands to their number; and some whole companies of foot, which had been raised and armed for the defence of the State, revolted to them.

SR. CHA. COOTE having secured the parts about Navan, was ordered to the relief of the castle of Wicklow,

then

CHARLES I. then straitly besieged, and in great danger of being taken.

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But the rebels upon his approach retired into the mountains; and the town being left at his mercy, to which he appears to be a stranger, he put to death several persons without distinction of age or sex, in revenge of the several spoils committed upon the English in those parts. The news of the rout at St. Julians-town bridge, caused such a general consternation and so many disorders at Dublin, the one side being so elated and the other so dismayed, that if the rebels had followed their blow at that juncture whilst the impression was hot, they might probably have made themselves masters of the city. In this exigence, the Council sent immediately to SR. CHA. COOTE to march back in all haste with his troops; but in obeying this order, he was attacked by a thousand Irish under one of the TOOLEs, whom he defeated. For these services, and for their greater safety, the Ministry made him Governour of the city of Dublin; which he applied himself with great care to secure. He was a man of courage and experience, but of a morose and surly temper: and being provoked by the great damage which his estate had suffered by the rebels, he committed many acts of cruelty without distinction, equal in that respect to any of theirs; which gave a general dislike of him to the wise and good of his own party, and which furnished the Irish with a pretence of retaliation.

The rebellion till now had been carried on by the mere Irish, without one Nobelman appearing in it, or even without a Gentleman of English blood; and was chiefly confined to the province of Ulster, some few counties in Leinster, and one alone in Conaught. But the beginning of December opened another scene, and gave birth to a general insurrection; in which, a great part of the Nobility, and almost all the English Roman Catholic Gentry throughout the kingdom, were first or last involved. The steps by which this great defection was brought about, and the manner in which the Lords and others of the Pale who led the way, were brought into it, will be the proper subject of another book. I cannot close this however without observing, that if the Protestants in Ireland have the strongest reason for accusing the Papists there, of forming a most horrid and unreasonable conspiracy against the estates and persons of their ancestors, which occasioned cruelties and desolation too shocking for a description, the
Roman

Roman Catholicks may recriminate on the weak and ill intentioned meafures of the Adminiftration, which fo-
mented and continued it. The first indeed are moft cri-
minal, as having began the war : but the crimes on both

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fides, owing to the wickednefs of particular men, being too great for extenuation, inftead of charging each other at this day with principles and praftices which the wife and good of both fides did abhor, they fhould lament the follies and vices of their forefathers, and be taught by their example to abftain from all approaches towards the fame fort of guilt. In fhort they fhould learn, from the miferies of difcord that have been now related, that as charity is the fublimeft of all Chriftian virtues, fo nothing conduces more to the peace and profperity, the ftrength and harmony of a nation.





T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E B E L L I O N and C I V I L - W A R
I N
I R E L A N D.

B O O K III.

IN order to preserve the thread of the history, and to take things in their proper order, it is necessary to cast our eyes again upon England, to see what was doing there in relation to this rebellion; before we attend the further progress and the grent increase of it in Ireland. The reader must remember that we left the King in Scotland, and, on the first news of the Irish conspiracy, fatally giving the management of it to his English Parliament. The English Parliament, or at least the leaders in it, who intended to possess themselves of the whole regal power here, rejoiced exceedingly at the authority which his Majesty himself had given them in his other kingdom of Ireland: and to that error of the King's, into which he was led by his just desire of suppressing the insurrection in Ireland, a large part of the misery of the civil war in this country was in a great measure owing. The reader remembers the zealous votes which passed in the two Houses, about supplies of all kinds being immediately sent to Ireland, as

soon

CHARLES I.
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TEMPLE.
BORLASE.
CARTE.
CASTLEHA.
CLANRICA.
CLAREND.

CHARLES I. soon as they had received intelligence of the conspiracy, and the King's request to take it under their care. Those resolutions looked well to his Majesty, to the people of Ireland, to foreign States, and to the publick here; and little more was intended by them. When the second

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dispatches from the State of Ireland were communicated to the House of Lords by the Lord Keeper and the Lord Lieutenant, it was agreed to have a conference upon them with the House of Commons. The substance of these letters has been already given the reader in the preceding book, and therefore need not be now repeated. The result of the conference of the two Houses upon them, "was to communicate them to the city of London, in order to induce them to lend money for the present supply of the business of Ireland; to send ten thousand men thither instead of six which had been before resolved on, and two thousand horse; and to accept the offer of the Scots, for sending ten thousand men into Ireland, under such conditions as shall be agreed upon by the Parliament. In two days after, the House of Commons came to the following resolutions, which being communicated to the Lords were assented to by them: That so many officers shall be sent into the province of Munster as shall command a thousand foot and a troop of horse, a list of which shall be made by the Lord Lieutenant: That the thirteen hundred arms that were in Carlisle should be sent away immediately to the North of Ireland, and arms for a troop of horse: That the forty old foot companies there should be recruited to an hundred men each: That **SR. JOHN CLOTWORTHY** should be recommended to some honourable entertainment in Ireland, and the like recommendation for the Lord **DUNGARVAN**: That order should be presently taken for securing the Port-towns and forts on the South-west of Ireland towards Spain: That the officers may be speedily sent for Dublin; and that **SR. SIM. HARCOURT** should have a salary of twenty shillings a day above the rest for his command of that place; and go away immediately: That two hundred thousand pounds should be raised for the suppressing the rebels in Ireland, for the security of this kingdom, and the payment of debts." Tho' the Parliament seemed in haste to make these resolutions, which was on the thirteenth of November, yet the reader will find they were extremely backward in carrying them into execution; for **SR. S. HARCOURT** did not arrive at Dublin with

with any men till the last day of December. To these resolutions the Lords added an order, that as the Lord Lieutenant had not been invested formally in his place by receiving the sword in Ireland, he should have power to command the Lords Justices to seize upon any suspected persons, till they could clear themselves to the satisfaction of those Ministers. The committee which carried the letters from Ireland into the city, reported that the Mayor and Aldermen unanimously voted the lending money; which they would presently pay, or subscribe to do it in a short time.

CHARLES I.

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In a few days after, the House of Commons having pressed that SR. S. HARCOURT may have a commission to levy soldiers for the service of Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant who, it hath been observed, had some scruple about his authority from an ordinance of Parliament without a warrant from the King, presented a copy of such a commission to the House of Lords, of which they approved: and for his further satisfaction, "the House undertook to be suitors to his Majesty, to confirm the authority, given the Earl by the Parliament, under the great seal; and will always avow his proceedings upon their orders in the mean time." Other letters arriving from the administration in Ireland, dated the thirteenth of November, were then communicated: desiring that some ships might be appointed to guard their coasts, and that ten thousand foot, a thousand horse with arms and munition, an hundred thousand pound, and a supply of provisions and oats for horses, might be immediately sent them. About this time, the King returned from Scotland to Whitehall; but before he reached the town, he was attended by all the principal Nobility and Gentry, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who conducted him in a most grand and pompous cavalcade into the city; which the reader will find in some of the historians of those times, but of which we at this day have no such instances, nor any conception. His Majesty, the Queen, and the royal family, having dined with the Mayor and Aldermen, at Guildhall, where a magnificent entertainment was provided for the whole Court, they were conducted in the same splendid order to Whitehall, in which they had entered the city. But how little such popular testimonies of affection are to be depended on, the sequel will soon shew. With no more sincerity than in this compliment, was an order made in a day or two after by the House of Commons, "that a declaration should be drawn for clearing his Majesty's ho-

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CHARLES I. honour from false reports cast upon him by the rebels in Ireland, and a provision to be made that there be no conclusion of that war to the prejudice of this kingdom." Whosoever had heard of this report from Ireland, had likewise heard of its contradiction there: and whilst they appeared to be vindicating the King's honour in not encouraging that rebellion, there was a malevolent insinuation that he might probably put an end to it, in a way that would be prejudicial to his English subjects.

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The King, in his first speech after he returned from Scotland, recommended to the Parliament the affair of Ireland: in which he says, tho' he does not doubt their care, ye, he thinks the preparations for it go but slowly on. He then acquaints them that two Lords are arrived from Scotland properly authorized, in consequence of the petition sent to him by the Parliament; and desires the two houses would appoint a select committee to end the business with those Noblemen. The reader remembers that this petition hath been already recited, and that the business meant was the forces that were to be sent into Ireland from the Scots. In consequence of this speech, the Parliament appointed three Lords and four Commons to treat with the Commissioners from Scotland; but not to come to a final conclusion, till they had informed the King and the two Houses of their proceedings. On the eighth of December, the King again pressed the Parliament, in a message by the Lord Keeper, to prepare instructions for treating with the Scotch Commissioners about Ireland; which they complied with accordingly. But the Commons were willing at first to treat only for five thousand men, till the King expressed a great desire that the number treated for might be ten thousand. Shortly after, in a conference between the two Houses, a certificate from the Council of Ireland was produced; importing that as the city of Dublin was not able to entertain all the distressed people that retreated thither stripped of every thing by the rebels, the Council had ordered the women and children to be transported into England; and recommended them to the charity and commiseration of well disposed Christians. The two Houses accordingly entered on a contribution for the relief of these miserable distressed people. A bill for the pressing of soldiers for the more speedy supply of Ireland being brought into Parliament, which was a plain infringement of the King's prerogative, his Majesty went to the House on the fourteenth

of December, and sending for the Commons acquainted CHARLES I.
 them, that the last thing he had recommended to them
 was the business of Ireland, of which he was in hopes A. 1644
 he should not have had a necessity of putting them again
 in mind. But seeing their slow proceedings, notwithstanding
 the daily accounts which came of the lamentable state
 of his Protestant subjects there, he could not but earnestly
 recommend the dispatch of that affair ; as what he had at
 that time chiefly at heart, and was most worth his care.
 He then offers every thing that his power and pains could
 contribute towards that good and necessary work : and
 taking notice of the bill then depending, he declares his
 readiness to pass it, if it does not diminish his prerogative ;
 or to avoid all further debate at that time, to pass it with
 a “ salvo jure ” to the King and People. As a conclusion,
 he conjures them by all that is dear to him and them, that
 laying aside all disputes they would go on cheerfully and
 speedily in the reducing of Ireland.

It is plain that in this speech the King had no intention
 to violate the privileges of Parliament, but to remove
 the obstacles which occurred to the relief of Ireland by
 this bill : but as his Majesty is not supposed to know of any
 thing that passes in those Houses, more than what they
 themselves communicate, it was very ill advice that had
 been given him, especially in the situation he was then in
 with the Commons, to take this notice of their debates,
 and to make such a proposal ; and it was accordingly re-
 sented as a breach of privilege by both Houses. This
 not only contributed to foment the public dissatisfaction—
 with which view no doubt his false hearted Councillor St.
JOHN gave him this advice—but as the Parliament re-
 fused to stir a step in the business of Ireland till this in-
 jury was repaired, that kingdom must be entirely lost,
 and the disgrace must lie at his Majesty’s door, or he
 must pass it as they had prepared it. The Commons,
 when this was done, sent a Member to desire the Lord
 Lieutenant to issue out commissions for raising two regi-
 ments in Ulster, and to hasten all other commissions for
 raising men for Ireland ; having ordered an imprest for
 three thousand pounds for raising, conducting and trans-
 porting three thousand men ; and having directed the
 Master of the ordnance to deliver to his Lordship such
 quantities of powder, as should be thought necessary for the
 present expedition into Munster. The House of Commons
 then came to several resolutions about the sums to be
 paid

CHARLES I. paid to the officers and soldiers that were to be sent to Ireland; which need not be related here.

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The House of Lords, having received a proposal from the Commons, at a conference, for sending into Ireland ten thousand Scots, they desired to know what certainty the Commons would give them, if the Lords agreed to that proposal, that ten thousand English should speedily follow. To this, in another conference, the Commons answered, "that they were not used to be capitulated withal, and desire it may be so no more; that they had given a sufficient certainty already, having voted the sending ten thousand English into Ireland, and transmitted the same to their Lordships, and think therefore they need not vote it again; but desire the Lords would vote the sending the ten thousand Scots without any regard to the other, the safety of Ireland depending upon it, and as they conceive the ten thousand English cannot go unless the bill for pressing passes."—The reader here sees the clause that unriddles all the rest. The tragical necessity of Ireland was a very popular theme, and upon that they were determined to put the issue of the pressing bill, in order to clip still further the royal power and prerogative; towards the melting down of which into the mass of the Parliament they had made great attempts already. For to shew that there was no occasion of pressing, the King had engaged to raise ten thousand men for this service, if the House of Commons would undertake to pay 'em. But to this they would not agree; choosing rather to hazard the entire loss of Ireland, notwithstanding all their pretended zeal about it, than to send thither ten thousand English at such a juncture.—The House of Lords however voted unanimously, that ten thousand English and ten thousand Scots should be sent into Ireland; and ordered their committee to acquaint the Scotch commissioners with those votes. The Commons still continued to press the Lords, by getting a petition to be sent them from several of the Nobility and Gentry then residing in London, and another from the Merchants trading to Ireland, begging immediate relief for that unhappy country: and they themselves tell the Lords, "that they can think of nothing but Ireland, nor speak nothing but Ireland." The King and the House of Lords however saw into their design through all this zeal; and that, let what would become

become of Ireland, the Commons would not part with ten thousand men, in whom they had a much better interest than the King, and whose assistance they knew they should soon want. Neither would they consent to the King's raising a new body of troops of that number; knowing that his Majesty would grant the commissions to such officers only as would be at his devotion.

CHARLES I.
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In the midst of these disputes, some more letters from the Council of Ireland to the Lord Lieutenant were communicated to the House of Lords; in which, besides acquainting them with the further progress of the rebellion, in the manner which hath been related in the foregoing book, and pressing for a speedy succour of every kind, "they send their Lordships an intelligence which they had received, of ships being laden with arms and ammunition at Dunkirk, to be transported to the rebels in Ireland. They acknowledge the receipt of the money sent them in the latter end of November, which amounted only to sixteen thousand five hundred and ninety pounds, and which they complain of as far short of the supply that was necessary for their service; as thinking nothing less will do than two hundred thousand pounds. Indeed that sum had been voted, and the Parliament had actually borrowed fifty thousand pounds of the city of London—already mentioned—for the speedy supply of Ireland; and if no other designs had been on foot, which it was not then thought proper to own, there is no doubt but that the whole sum would have been sent. In this letter, they press the Lord Lieutenant to go over, as a thing absolutely necessary to the safety of that state: and the Earl of ORMONDE, about the same time, wrote his Lordship a private letter, in which he sets forth the necessity of having the civil and the military power in a single person at that juncture. But whatever might be the disadvantage or distress of having no Lord Lieutenant upon the spot, it is certain that the Earl of LEICESTER, for some reason or other, never went to Ireland. But what that reason for his not going before, or at this time was, does not appear from any history of that period; although why he remained here afterward is accounted for.—But however to keep alive the expectations of the Irish Protestants, and to save appearances of zeal and commiseration, the two Houses agreed in some more vigorous resolutions, of sending arms and ammunition of all sorts from Carlisle and the tower, to be ordered and disposed of as the Lord Lieutenant should think

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CHARLES I. think fit, and seven thousand pounds for levy-money, transportation, and victualling, to be taken out of the subsidies.
A. 1641. But the King's warrant for particular quantities and species of arms and ammunition, of which he might be informed and judge of the propriety, though it would answer the end of supplying Ireland, yet would not answer an end which they had much more at heart : and therefore the House of Commons petitioned him, to grant a general warrant to the Master of the ordnance—who was a friend of their own—to deliver what arms and ammunition the Parliament should require. But though the King granted a warrant for the particulars mentioned in the votes of the two Houses, as it was requested, yet their designs by this time were so evident, that he refused the general warrant ; and desired they would take care to replenish the stores for the security of this kingdom, which had been issued for the supply of Ireland.

Notwithstanding the seeming haste of the Parliament to send a supply of soldiers into the North of Ireland, by a treaty with those of Scotland, which was signified to the King by an express messenger in the middle of November, yet it was not till the latter end of January, that they had finished the treaty with the Scotch Commissioners—though often pressed by them to do it—for that purpose. After all the votes they had passed in the two Houses, and the delays that had been occasioned by the Commons ; after the numerous accounts they had received of the progress of the rebels in Ireland, and the extreme distresses to which the Protestants in that kingdom were reduced ; in short, after the many earnest solicitations of the Council there for the most speedy succours, this treaty at last with the Scotch Commissioners was only for two thousand five hundred men which they had then on foot. The articles of it related chiefly to the pay, advance-money, and transporting of them with convoy ; to all which the two Houses assented. But there was one proposal in them, of which the King, when they were communicated to him, did not approve ; and wished the Parliament would re-consider it as a matter of great importance, which might be prejudicial to the service intended, as well as to the Crown of England. The third article provided, “ that the Scots should have the command and keeping of the town and castle of Carrickfergus, with power to them to remain still within the same, or to enlarge their quarters and go abroad into the country, upon

RUSHWORT.

upon such occasions as their officers in their discretion shall think expedient for the good of that kingdom : and if it shall be thought fit that any regiment or troops in that province shall join with them, that they receive orders from the commanders of the Scotch forces."——It is no wonder that a King of England should have an objection to this article, so detrimental to his Irish subjects in those parts, and so full of indignity to his English army. The wonder is, that an English Parliament should be so lost to all sense of spirit towards the Scots, to all sense of decency towards the King, and to all sense of honour towards their country and themselves, as to pass a vote, " that those who advised his Majesty to disapprove of that article, was an enemy to the King and kingdom." But before the King was acquainted with this vote, the Scotch Commissioners, having heard of his disapprobation, went to Windsor to him : and representing how unkind it would be in his Majesty, who was their native King, not to put as much trust in them, as the two Houses of Parliament, who were only their neighbours, had done, they cajoled him into consent ; and he sent word the next day to the two Houses, " that though he could have wished the third article had been more for the advantage of the Crown of England, yet as they had thought fit to grant it, he would admit of their advice ; especially as he found his rejecting it would delay the supply so necessary to his kingdom of Ireland." It is easy to see, that this advice was calculated more to please their old friends the Scots, and to keep the English forces at home, which they were so soon to want, than to assist the people of Ireland : and indeed it would have been as well, if not better, for most of the Northern Irish, as will appear hereafter, if these forces had never entered Ireland with the power vested in them by that article. This being the last transaction relating to the affairs of that kingdom, before his Majesty separated from the Parliament, and went to York, we must now leave England for a while, and, bad as that was, return to a scene of much greater confusion.

It was the report of numbers of the rebels to their Protestant and English prisoners, as appears from several examinations, that the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale had originally contracted with the conspirators to be parties in the insurrection : and some of the Irish went so far as to say, that the great men of the Pale were the first contrivers of this plot. But so many of their sayings, which are recorded in the Manuscript collection of depositions

CHARLES I.

A. 1642.

tions in my custody, are so ridiculous, or incredible, or contradictory to one another, as shew plainly that they spoke what their own, or the different passions and sentiments of their leaders prompted; sometimes, what came uppermost, or they thought would best serve or vindicate their cause; at other times, what the reproaches of their prisoners provoked them to; not seldom, what despair suggested; and for the most part, as they were tutored by their Priests. Upon the whole, there is no credit to be given to any thing that was said by those people, which had not other evidence to confirm it: And the reason why so many idle silly tales were registered, of what this body heard another body say, as to swell the collection to two and thirty thick volumes in folio closely written, it is easier to conjecture, than it is to commend. At the same time therefore that we are to reject the belief, that the chief men of the Pale were the first projectors of this insurrection, yet there seems evidence enough to incline us to think, that many of them were privy to it, if not consenting. However I shall not conceal from the reader, that I differ in this point from all other historians: those on the side of the Council being of the first opinion, and CARTE and others supposing that they knew nothing of it. But be this as it might: After the Parliament had been prorogued, and the rebels had marched into the Pale, declaring it to be a war of religion, and to defend the rights and prerogative of the King; after they had met with the success in defeating the convoy, already mentioned, which had greatly increased their strength, and there was no appearance of any succours from England, the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale made no scruple of giving countenance to the suspicions that had been already formed of them at Dublin. The rebels having passed the Boyne, and encamped with a great army within three miles of Drogheda, the Justices and Council were more alarmed than ever: and being determined in this extremity, to take all the advice, and to gather all the strength they could, and perhaps to try if they might depend on the loyalty of the Pale, they called a Council of all the Nobility within any convenient distance, to the number of twelve, in a circular letter of the third of December, requiring their attendance at Dublin on the eighth; to no other end, it is said in the letter, than to confer with them about the state and safety of the kingdom in those times of danger.

Whether

Whether this letter was first received, or whether CHARLES I.
 Lord GORMANSTON had first issued a warrant to the
 Sheriff of Meath for a general meeting of the county, of
 which he was Governor, for want of knowing the date of
 that warrant, it is impossible for us to say; neither is it at
 all material. For it is very evident, from the deposition of
 a Gentleman of the Pale, who was at all their consultations
 and was afterwards taken prisoner, that the resolution of
 calling the county together had been taken about the day
 on which the letter was written. The defeat of the
 convoy was on the twenty ninth of November; and MR.
 DOWDALL deposed, that some four or five days after A. 1641.
 that defeat, the warrant issued from Lord GORMANSTON:
 so that the agreement for the meeting must have been
 made, before the letter from the Council could be re-
 ceived, and probably a day or two before it was written.
 I have been the more particular in fixing the date of this
 resolution, lest the reader should imbibe the same preju-
 dice with CARTE, and suppose, as he does, that this
 summons from the Council had driven them into the
 measures which they took. In consequence of the war-
 rant from Lord GORMANSTON, seven Lords, and four-
 teen Gentlemen of the Pale, with at least a thousand
 others, met at the h'll of Crofty; and after remaining
 there two or three hours, RO. MOORE, MR. O
 REILY and his brother, the Colonels BIRN and MAC-
 MAHON, and Captain Fox, appeared with a guard of
 Musketeers. As soon as the parties had joined, the Lord
 GORMANSTON, being one of the formost of the Pale,
 demanded for what reason they appeared thus in arms; to
 which MOORE answered, "for the liberty of their con-
 sciences, the maintenance of his Majesty's prerogative in
 which they understood he was abridged, and for making
 the subjects in that kingdom as free as those in Eng-
 land."—The reader will observe that there was more of
 sound than sense or consistency in the two latter reasons:
 because if they were not already as free as the subjects in
 England, the difference was owing only to the King's
 prerogative; and if his prerogative was abridged in En-
 gland, that was surely no reason for their taking up arms
 against his loyal subjects in Ireland.—These reasons how-
 ever were swallowed; and Lord GORMANSTON wanted
 only to know, whether these were indeed their real mo-
 tives, or mere pretences, and whether they had not some
 other

CHARLES I. other private ends of their own The latter being denied with great asseverations of sincerity, his Lordship then said, that since those were their ends they would likewise join with them: upon which it was publicly assented to, and declared, "that whosoever should deny to join with them, or refuse to assist them in it, should be accounted as an enemy, and to the utmost of their power they would labour his destruction." The agreement thus made, another warrant was issued to the Sheriff, to summon a general meeting at the hill of Taragh a week after, where the Lords and Gentlemen before-mentioned came accordingly; and two or three eminent lawyers, with a multitude of others, joined them. The business of this meeting was to settle and sign the answer to the summons sent from Dublin, which Lord GORMANSTON had brought ready drawn for that purpose; and it being presented by his Lordship, and perused and approved by the lawyers, it was signed by himself, and the Lords FINGALL, SLANY, DUNSANY, NETTERVILLE, TRIMBLESTON, and LOWTH. The letter contained only a very flimsy excuse for their not appearing at the Council; as having before offered their advice, which had been neglected—which unless it was in Parliament was not true—and therefore they supposed their loyalty had been suspected; that they were informed, **SR. CHA. COOTE** had said something at the Council board, tending towards a design of a general massacre of those of their religion, which had determined them not to wait upon their Lordships, but to stand upon their best guard, till they heard how they should be secured from the peril of their lives; but would continue faithful to his Majesty's service."

On the day appointed by the summons, the Lords **KILDARE**, **FITZWILLIAM**, and **HOWTH** attended the Council; and no more of the twelve, to whom the letter was wrote, appearing, the administration thought fit to put off the conference. But being informed on the next day, that the Lord **NETTERVILLE**'s second son had caused a tumultuous meeting of several Gentlemen and others at Swords—six miles from Dublin—and had engaged there in arms, the Justices and Council issued a proclamation, "requiring them, whatever their intent might be—which it was conceived might be owing to some mistake—to separate immediately upon sight thereof; and

and that NETTERVILLE, BLAKENY, KING, and [six CHARLES I. others of the principal persons so assembled, should appear at the Council the next morning, to shew the cause of their assembling there." Instead of complying with this order, they detained the messenger, who carried the proclamation to them, a day and a night in custody, threatening to hang him; and then returned for answer to it, that they were so terrified by the rising out of some horse and foot at Dublin, who had killed four Catholics, for no other reason than because they bore that name, as they durst not stay in their houses; and therefore they resolved to continue together till they had an assurance from the Council of their safety, and might run no hazard by their obedience. Upon receiving this answer, and finding that the men in arms still continued at Swords, the ministry published a manifesto, declaring that one of the four whom the soldiers had killed at Santry, was a Protestant, and that they had all been guilty of rebellious acts; and therefore that NETTERVILLE, and the others before-mentioned, should immediately separate, and appear in five days time to shew cause as before directed; to which end their Lordships gave them the word of the State, that they might all securely and safely repair thither, without danger of any trouble or stay whatsoever. But far from obeying the proclamation to depart, some of their followers had seized a bark lying off Clontarf—a village on the bay of Dublin within three miles of the city—and plundering it of all the commodities they found on board, had deposited most of them in the house of KING, one of the leaders before-mentioned of the rebels at Swords. The Council judging that an act of such a dangerous tendency, which in its consequence might lead to blocking up the harbour, required a speedy remedy, they immediately ordered the Earl of ORMONDE, "to send a party of soldiers to endeavour to cut off the rebels, as well for punishment, as terror to others, and to burn and spoil their houses and goods: to prevent their further annoying the shipping that might be going out, or coming in, or lying within the harbour, the soldiers were also to bring up to the new crane at Dublin, such of the boats and vessels now lying at Clontarf, as they could upon the sudden; and to burn, spoil, sink, and make unserviceable the rest. Unless the rebels houses had had a mark upon them, and the vessels ordered to be destroyed were known

CHARLES I. to belong to ill-affected persons, this resolution surely was too indiscriminate and severe. Severe however as it was, **SR. CHA. COOTE**, who commanded the party by express nomination of the Ministers, took care to execute it to the full. He marched out with some soldiers privately to Clontarfe, which belonged principally to **KING**; and suffering his men to pillage the place, they burnt many of the houses, and particularly part of his mansion-house, in which some of the goods were found that had been taken out of the bark.

A. 1641.

The rebels at Swords, who were rather exasperated, we may be sure, at what had been done by the soldiers at Clontarfe, instead of separating as they were commanded, returned an answer to the Council by their messenger, that within a day or two they should hear of them; and they were as good as their word. For they sent one party to Santry, and another to Finglass within two miles of Dublin, where they displayed their banners, and robbed and plundered the Protestants and English even to the suburbs of the city; till a thousand men were sent against them under **SR. CHA. COOTE**, who put them all to flight, and burnt—perhaps very unjustly—the parts of those two towns in which the rebels had been quartered. It does not appear from any account, that more of the Irish than the foot above-mentioned, were put to death in either of these expeditions; and yet **GEORGHAN** asserts, “that eighty of them were massacred at Santry and Clontarfe in the beginning of November, and that the Irish in the North did not murder any till they heard of these cruelties: whereas the affair at Santry and Clontarfe was not till near the middle of December, almost a month after the most shocking barbarities had been committed in Ulster: but the Abbot seems to have profited of his own observation, “that it is easy to impose on a stranger who is unacquainted with the history; or he would never have asserted, “that there were six times more Catholics than Protestants massacred; that the English had began by order of their chiefs, and that the crime of the Irish was to have followed so barbarous an example.”

In answer to the letter sent by the Lords of the Pale, to excuse their not obeying the summons to appear at Dublin, the Justices and Council published a proclamation, “declaring to them and all other his Majesty’s subjects of the
Romish

Romish religion, that they never heard SR. C. COOTE CHARLES.
or any other utter such speeches at the board or any where
else, tending to a design of a general massacre of those of A. 1641.
their religion, or any massacre at all; and that they never
had a thought of so odious and impious an act: nor should
any one who could be proved to have spoken any such
words escape being punished very severely. They re-
quired therefore the said Lords of the Pale, to
attend them at the board on the seventeenth day of De-
cember, that they might confer with them; giving to all
and every one of them the assurance of the State, that
they might then securely and safely come unto them,
without danger of any trouble or stay whatsoever." No
other effect was produced by this proclamation than the
former. For though in the reply that was made to it
by the seven Lords, they acquit the Council of having
heard SR. C. COOTE utter the words of which they before
accused him, yet they declare their belief that he said
them: and that they beheld with terror his inhuman acts
in the county of Wicklow, the late massacre at Santry,
and the burning MR. KING's house and substance at
Clontarfe. They were ready however, they said, to at-
tend upon such of the Lords of the Council, as were best
estimated and interested in the commonwealth of the king-
dom, in any place at a convenient distance from the com-
mand of SR. CHA. COOTE; in order to contribute their
best endeavours and advice for his Majesty's service, and
the peace of the kingdom. The futility of this reply
must be obvious to every reader without being pointed
out; and it will easily be imagined, that no Commissioners
were deputed, nor any public notice taken of their excuse.
Having proceeded thus far with the Administration, the
Lords of the Pale thought it time to make their cause
good with the King, before he was prejudiced too much
against them. To this purpose they drew up a petition,
and an apology for taking arms, in the name of the Lords,
Knights, Gentlemen, and other inhabitants of the En-
glish Pale. In the former, they begged leave to lay be-
fore his Majesty the motives which constrained them to
join with the forces of Ulster; in whose declaration for
this commotion, finding nothing contained but the con-
tinuance of their allegiance to his Majesty, the main-
taining and defending his royal prerogative, the free and
public exercise of their religion, and the reformation of

CHARLES I. the grievances of the kingdom, they presumed that his Majesty would make no worse construction of what they had done, than their loyalties and affections deserved; and no worse than he had made of others of his subjects, who upon less or the same occasions had done the like: and though they were ready upon his command to lay down their arms, yet they hoped he would be pleased to give them the like redress, as he had given to the others by a free Parliament, and to grant his assent to such things as should be therein judged expedient for him and them; and in the mean time to command hostilities on both sides to cease. This is the sense of the petition, stripped of all the flattery to which that nation was formerly much addicted. In the apology which accompanies this petition, they set forth their requesting arms of the Lords Justices at the beginning of the insurrection, which from an unjust suspicion had been refused them; though they had undertaken, if supplied with them in a competent manner, to have appeased the present troubles with little expence to his Majesty. After this, they proceed to charge the Lords Justices, with every measure they could reckon up to their disadvantage; some of them true, but the worst, and the greatest part, utterly false. They seem indeed to be aware of the injustice of their cause, by not resting it on the issue of this apology; and by sending at the same time a petition likewise to the Queen, to intercede for them with the King. These instruments, with a further verbal representation, were to be sent by **SR. JOHN READ**; a Lieutenant Colonel in the disbanded army, and an officer of good experience. He was also a Gentleman of the privy-chamber to his Majesty; and he undertook the journey, on condition that his expences in it, and in his solicitations at Court, should be defrayed; besides a provision for his wife and family in his absence, and in case any accident should happen to him. But there being some difficulty in the raising this money, or waiting to see the issue of the siege of Drogheda, his journey was retarded; and by an extraordinary fate attending him, of which the reader will hear in its proper place, the papers were never sent.

The Lords and Gentry of the Pale, having now declared themselves publicly against the government, began to put all that territory in a warlike condition, to make themselves ready to join their northern friends in the siege
of

of Drogheda; and if they succeeded in that enterprise, CHARLES I. to become masters of the city and castle of Dublin. To this end were held many public meetings and consultations; in one of which, Lord GORMANSTON was declared General in chief of all the forces to be raised within the Pale, Colonel BIRNE Lieutenant-general, and the Earl of FINGALL General of the horse. A power was given to these Lords, to nominate Captains in the several baronies; and these were to raise soldiers according to the orders that had been agreed on. The General accordingly issued out his warrants, requiring those that were appointed to raise the men and to furnish them with provisions, to send them out upon pain of death. Other warrants were sent to such as had been appointed overseers of the corn belonging to the Protestants, that it might be threshed out and applied to the maintenance of their army. The next work was to make a constant provision of all manner of necessaries, for the entertainment of their own, and the Ulster forces that were set down at the siege of Drogheda. For this service, they made an applotment of the proportions of corn and cattle, that were to be furnished out of every part, for the victualling of those that were encamped about the town: and that they might engage the country people to furnish the army more readily with these proportions, they not only publicly prohibited all corn from being carried to Dublin, but they blocked up all the ways leading to it, and made the markets very thin. But a proclamation from the Council, assuring those that would bring their corn to market as usual, that they should have ready money for it, and threatening those that would not, soon remedied that inconvenience: the country people choosing to bring it, tho' with hazard, rather than to suffer it to be threshed out by virtue of warrants from Lord GORMANSTON for the Irish army, or to have it burnt in the stacks by those from Dublin.

In a letter to the Lord Lieutenant from the Ministers, after the open defection of the Lords of the Pale, they tell him, "that tho' it may make the rebels more considerable in the eye of such as are unacquainted with those Lords, yet they who know them, their power, and their abilities, well know that the strength it adds to the rebels, is in truth no more than the addition of those seven men to their number." Whether the Council were weak and ignorant enough to think in this manner, and if this was not

CHARLES I. not their real opinion, with what view they could impose it upon the Lord Lieutenant, it is hard to say: the event however shewed, that a more erroneous opinion was never entertained; as this defection of the Pale was followed by a general insurrection over the kingdom. The parts which lay next to Dublin first declared. The Gentlemen of the county of Kildare armed themselves and their tenants, and made themselves masters of all the towns round about them: most of those of Westmeath, did the same: on the West side of Dublin, within six miles of it, were two thousand of the rebels under the command of Ro. MOORE: great numbers were come down from Wicklow, and had lodged themselves in villages and castles within three or four miles of it on the South; and these, with the rebels at Swords before mentioned, had in a manner environed the city on all sides by land. In this extremity, the Justices and Council had again recourse by letter to the Lord Lieutenant; begging a speedy succour of men, and arms, and money from England, and that he would immediately repair to them himself. It is impossible for words to express a stronger sense of distress, or a more vehement desire of present aid, than this letter contains. Notwithstanding therefore they might have wished, when their fright and their danger, as they thought, were over,—what some of them, it is said, were often heard to wish,—“that the number were greater of such as became criminal;” and although they held the Lords of the Pale so very cheap, as to imagine their revolt was only adding seven to the rebels number, yet in less than ten days after that revolt, their tone was altered: and TEMPLE himself, who signed that letter, confesses, “that the city of, Dublin began to be much more straitened by the rebels forces, much increased thro’ their late conjunction with the English Pale.” Nor was the whole of their increase to be found only in that neighbourhood. For to strengthen their party as much as possible, by drawing in all the old English Roman Catholics, the Lords of the Pale sent manifestoes and declarations into Munster, Conaught, and all the rich trading towns and sea-ports in the kingdom, which were chiefly inhabited by English; and who were ready enough to unite with them for their common safety. In the last letter which I mentioned, the Council sent the draft of a proclamation to be immediately published by the King.

to be signed with his own hand, and sealed with his pri-
 vy signet; as being more authentic than if published in
 their own names by the King's authority: and they tell
 the Lord Lieutenant, that if his Majesty approves of
 this, it would be necessary that there should be twenty co-
 pies, so signed and sealed, that they may be dispersed seve-
 ral ways. The reader will see the reason of mentioning
 this circumstance, when we return again to England: we
 must now attend the insurrection in other parts of the
 kingdom.

It hath already been taken notice of, that the whole
 province of Munster, of which SR. WIL. ST. LEGER
 was President, except some petty robberies, had continu-
 ed quiet. The rebels of the county of Wexford had
 sometimes wasted its borders, and made incursions very of-
 ten in the county of Kilkenny: but towards the end of
 November, they grew more considerable and outrageous;
 pursuing the English whom they had plundered to the ve-
 ry gates of Waterford. The President had only his own
 troop of horse for the security of the whole province;
 but being joined by about a hundred of the Gentlemen of
 the country, he pursued those rebels: and after a tedious
 march in terrible weather he came up with them, recovered
 the prey they had taken, slew about two hundred, and
 took above threescore prisoners, whom he brought to
 Waterford and caused to be executed by martial law. He
 was an honest brave man, but too rough and fiery in his
 temper: and if he struck a terror into the rebels by his
 activity, and executing them without mercy when he
 came at them, his heat and peevishness with the Gentle-
 men of the country, had made him less beloved by them
 in his old age, than otherwise he must have been. In the
 middle of December, he was informed of another robb-
 ery that was committed on the cattle of his brother-in-law,
 which he revenged in a very cruel and indiscriminate man-
 ner; killing near twenty people, four of them entirely
 innocent, and burning some of their houses: and when
 one of his Captains under him, who had killed nine or
 ten inoffensive people, and destroyed their houses, and
 drove away their cattle, was complained of to him, the
 President, instead of punishing, seemed rather to approve
 these outrages. Some of the principal Gentry of the
 country, being surpris'd and justly offended at these rash
 and cruel proceedings, waited upon him with their com-
 plaints; observing how much the people were exasperated

by

CHARLES I. by these severities, and that if he would qualify them with authority and arms, they would undertake themselves to keep things in order, and to secure the peace of the county, without any barbarity. But he treated their complaints with many passionate expressions; and rejected their offer, with a rudeness extremely culpable: and tho' this was resented quietly enough by those Gentlemen, yet it raised a general ferment and uneasiness in the country: many of the English, after the defection of the Pale, suffered very much for the cruelties which the President and his men had exercised upon the Irish; and exercised indiscriminately, as well upon the innocent, as the guilty. It was said indeed in his excuse, that it was done in retaliation of the massacres committed in Ulster; which had transported him with rage against all the Irish. But it is too poor an excuse for such intemperate violence in a man of sense; as it would rather keep up that inhuman ferocity, than extinguish it; and it was as criminal, as it was impolitic. It was the middle of December however, before any Nobleman, or Gentleman in the province of Munster, appeared to favour the rebellion; nay many of them had shewn themselves zealous to oppose it, and had offered their services to that end. Lord MUSKERY particularly, who had married a sister of the Earl of ORMONDE, made an offer to raise a thousand men at his own expence; and as the Government could not supply them with arms to mortgage his estate to buy them; if when the service was ended, he might keep the arms, or be reimbursed what they cost him. But the Administration did not choose to give so much power into the hands of a Catholick; and their jealousy, added to the report of their design to extirpate that religion—for which report they had imprudently given too much reason—brought him against his inclination into the rebellion. There are many honourable testimonies of the care and preservation of the English by this Nobleman and his Lady; not only in saving their lives from their enemy, but in relieving them in great numbers from cold and hunger, after they had been stripped and driven from their habitations.

The Lord MOUNTGARRET was joined in commission with the Earl of ORMONDE for the government of the county of Kilkenny; and upon the Earl's going to Dublin to take the command of the army, the supreme authority of raising the forces in the county, and providing for its safety, was vested in Lord MOUNTGARRET. He was
a man

a man of years and experience, and had been very enterprising in his youth ; but was now grown too old for action. However as the general voice of the country, and the resolutions of the English Parliament, had alarmed him with an apprehension that the Catholicks and their religion were to be extirpated, he resolved to take up arms in their defence. The Gentlemen of the county, were for the most part some how or other related to him ; and, being generally Roman Catholicks, they very readily embarked in the cause with him, and amidst a numerous train of followers attended him to Kilkenny. In this place, he made a public declaration of the reasons which induced him to take up arms ; and by proclamation inhibited his followers from pillaging, or hurting any of the English in body or goods. It was impossible however for him, with all his authority, and solicitous as he was to do it, to prevent the rabble, who flocked to him in hopes of booty, from being guilty of plunder : but seeing one of the rank of a Gentleman transgressing his order, he was so provoked, that tho' he was his friend, he shot him dead with his pistol. Kilkenny being thus secured, he detached several parties different ways to secure other towns in those parts. His son had the gates of Waterford opened to him : and the towns of Clonmell, Carrick, and Dungarvan, were surprised by a brother of Lord ORMOND's ; who kept his followers from plunder, as well as murder. Indeed all the Gentlemen in this part of the kingdom were exceedingly careful to prevent bloodshed, and to prevent the English from being pillaged or stripped ; tho' it was many times impossible. But in the space of one week, every town and fort, except two, in the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, were in the hands of the rebels ; so great an addition of strength had the defection of the Pale given them.

The Lord RANELAGH, it hath been observed, was President of Conaught : and all that Province, except a few pillagers in the county of Sligo, owing in a great measure to the forward zeal and activity of Lord CLANRICARDE, tho' a Roman Catholick, had till this time continued quiet. It appears however by several of his Lordship's letters, that very ill measures had been pursued by the administration, " either thro' too much fear and distrust of others, or thro' spleen, or zeal, or some private ends : " and in his letter of the fourth of December to the Lords Justices, he complains with great sensibility,

" that

CHARLES I.

A. 1641.

CHARLES. "that there was nothing he had more desired than to go out upon service with his friends and followers ; nor had any thing so much disquieted him, as to be neglected, and kept in such a condition as to be disabled from doing service." Many remonstrances which he had made to them, and to England, for arms and ammunition, being in vain, and the infection of the Pale having spread in the remoter parts, about the middle of December, the whole province of Conaught in a manner revolted ; the county of Galway, of which Lord CLANRICARDE was Governot, excepted. Upon this, men and orders were sent into several parts, and divers malefactors brought in and executed by martial law : which did much good for a time, till the rebellion became general ; when either fear or affection had involved all conditions of men, in the common calamity of being ruined, or called traitors.

Whilst these transactions were carrying on in Conaught and Munster, the Ulster rebels were employed in the siege of Drogheda ; before which they had now been set down a month, and upon the fate of which, that of the kingdom in a great measure seemed to depend. The town is seated upon the river Boyne, about two miles from the sea, and twenty three from Dublin : and tho' it was surrounded then with a wall, it had scarce any other fortification. It was very late in the year to begin a siege, especially by an army who had neither cannon, arms, ammunition, tents, nor instruments of war for such a purpose. But they trusted in their numbers, and the hardiness of their men, to block up all the avenues of the town, and to reduce it by famine ; as they knew the garrison to be in want of fuel, clothing, and provision. We shall leave them in their fruitless and unprofitable attempts of a surprisal, to see what was doing at Dublin. We left the Lords Justices shut up there with their Council, and their army ; under terrible apprehensions for their safety, or of famine, and yet afraid to stir. For besides the attempt that had been made to starve their market, the rebels had threatened to cut off the water-course which supplied the city and castle with water, to burn their suburbs, and to besiege them : and had they succeeded at Drogheda, there is no doubt but they would have carried such a design into execution. Whatever had been the case before, their danger was now apparent, and their fears were real. Perpetual consultations employed the day ; and their nights were generally disturbed by infor-

mations

mations of instant danger, from treachery within, or from CHARLES.
surprise without. As the fruit of their consultations, they
issued a commission under the great seal, to DR. HEN.
JONES Dean of Kilmore, and seven other Clergymen;
"to call before them all such persons as had been robbed
and spoiled, and to examine them upon oath, as well as
all the witnesses that could give testimony of any such rob-
beries committed since the twenty second of October, or
should hereafter be committed, the particulars of which,
to what value, by whom, and on what day or night, place
of their dwelling, and all traiterous or disloyal words and
speeches." It is said that this commission was in order to
administer relief to them according to their ranks; and
that by taking an account of their losses, a restitution
might be made when matters were brought to a settlement.
On the other hand it is insinuated, that it was in order to
convict the rebels of treason, and for the forfeiture of their
estates. The reader may take which of these motives he
pleases; but I incline to believe that neither of them was
the true one. At the time when this commission was passed,
the Ministry were in too much real danger, as to the
castle, the city, and their own persons, and too much
terrified with that danger, as is plain from their letter of
the next day to the Lord Lieutenant, abovementioned,
to think of restitution to the sufferers, or of forfeitures to
themselves. I apprehend therefore that their intention in
this commission, was only with a view to stop the progress
of the rebellion, which they saw was becoming general,
by laying before the rebels the consequences of their con-
duct, which many of them might not have thought of.
For notwithstanding the haste which they are said to be
in for the forfeitures, by those who embrace the latter
opinion, it appears by the authentic collection of depo-
sitions that I have in my possession, that the first exami-
nation is no earlier than the twenty-fourth of March;
which was above three months after the date of the com-
mission. The truth is, they were then in such extreme
danger, and in such fears arising from that danger, that
their consultations tended to nothing but to their safety,
and to stop as well as they could the torrent of insurrec-
tion. But in the midst of their terror and distraction, on
the last day of the year, SR. S. HARCOURT arrived at
Dublin with his regiment of twelve hundred foot, and
with the news of three hundred unarmed men more at
sea, that were almost within the harbour. He was a
gen.

CHARLES. gallant old officer, of great experience in the wars of Flanders, and was appointed by the Parliament to be Governor of the city ; and his arrival with this reinforcement caused a general joy amongst the well affected.

A. 1642.

The Justices and Council began now to take a little courage ; not only on account of the strength which such a regiment and commander added to them, but also because they saw by it, of what they really were in doubt, if not in despair, that the Parliament would take them under their care, and supply their wants. Whoever reads only the history of England, and hath seen the vigorous votes of both Houses of Parliament here on the affairs of Ireland, would ever suppose it could be two months before they sent over any troops against the rebels ? And in truth the Ministry at Dublin, who had sent over so many and such moving representations of their distress, had too much room to suspect, that those who had the lead in the House of Commons here, were too full of their projects to bring their own country into confusion—to which the rebellion in Ireland was so very serviceable—to send an aid that would be effectual for their relief. The reinforcement therefore that came with SR. S. HARCOURT, tho' it revived their spirits, and enabled them to send out some parties to clear the country within a few miles of Dublin, yet was far from being sufficient to reduce the rebels. The body assembled at Swords, already mentioned, had been an object of terror both to the Council and the People : and therefore as soon as they thought themselves safe at Dublin, by the arrival of these forces, SR. C. COOTE was sent out against them ; who entirely routed them, and burnt the town of Swords, and some adjacent villages, as either belonging to their Chiefs, or as quarters for their entertainment : a severity, which fell promiscuously among Protestants as well as Papists, and was at this time a little unseasonable now their danger was at an end. The town of Naas was a principal place of meeting for the Gentry of the county of Kildare, in which they held their councils of war for applotting levies of men and money and provisions ; and as there were some expectations that a battle with the rebels would be the consequence of an attempt to dislodge them thence, the Earl of ORMONDE was sent on that expedition ; with LORD LAMBERT, SR. C. COOTE, and SR. S. HARCOURT under him. In his march thither he

he burnt the borough of Newcastle, according to his CHARLES I. orders, the village of Lyons, and several others in the neighbourhood of Naas: but the rebels having quitted that town upon his approach, and the inhabitants having been forward in receiving the rebels, and expelling and robbing the Protestants, it was given up to plunder: however, finding it capable of being fortified, and a convenient place, on account of its distance from Dublin, for a garrison, he preserved it, against his orders, from being burnt. Many prisoners were made upon this expedition; and as it was troublesome, expensive, and might be dangerous to keep so many at Dublin, the Administration were resolved to thin them. Men of estates were exempted, in order to preserve the King's escheats upon attainders; but the rest were given up to martial law; under a pretence that they could not find Freeholders enough for Juries: and yet at the same time, there were bills of indictment for high treason found in two days against all the Lords and Gentlemen in the counties of Meath, Wicklow, and Dublin, and three hundred persons of quality and estate in the county of Kildare. These military executions therefore fell entirely upon the poorer sort who had no estates to forfeit; and particularly on the priests and friars, who were generally charged as the chief excitors of the rebellion, and whose execution would most exasperate the Irish. M. S. The better to direct them in these measures, another commission was issued under the great Seal, on the eighteenth of January, to the same persons named in the former, with this additional direction; "that they should enquire what lands had been seized, and what murders committed by the rebels; what numbers of British and Protestants had perished in the way to Dublin, or any other place whither they fled; and how many had turned Papists since the twenty second of October." But more will be said of this commission, when I come to speak of the return made by the commissioners in its proper place. The Earl of ORMONDE, upon his return to Dublin, had a message from Lord GORMANSTON, complaining of his burning the country, and hanging people in his expedition; and threatening that Lady ORMONDE and his children should answer it, if he did such things for the future. The Earl refused to receive this message, in a way that might be interpreted a correspondence with a rebel; and therefore caused the person who brought it to be examined before the

CHARLES I. Council. The board approved of his Lordship's writing a letter to Lord GORMANSTON; in which he told him,

A. 1642. "that no body had been hanged by his authority in that expedition; but that he should not disavow any thing he should do in pursuance of his orders, nor cease to prosecute the rebels, for fear of what might befall him and his family; and that if his wife and children, who were in their power, suffered any thing from them, he would never revenge it upon women and children, as not only base and unchristian, but also infinitely below the value of such as were so dear to him."

About this time, the Ministers received the proclamation they had desired, under the King's own hand, and sealed with his privy Signet; "declaring all those who had taken his forts and castles, possessed themselves of his garrisons and magazines, spoiled many thousands of his good subjects of their houses goods and lands, massacred multitudes, and imprisoned many of them, to be **REBELS AND TRAITORS**; as likewise their adherents, and abettors, and all who should hereafter join with them. In the same proclamation he commanded them to lay down their arms immediately; and in case of their disobedience, authorised the chief Governors to prosecute the said rebels and traitors with fire and sword." This is the whole purport of the proclamation; and is the only proclamation that was ever issued in the King's name. But this is so falsified by **GEORGHAN**, that it ought not to be passed by. He says, "that the King was so sensible of the provocations of the Irish, that he ordered a proclamation to be published in his name, of a general amnesty to all who should submit in forty days." The reader will see from hence, that nothing can be depended upon in such a writer: and tho' the chief design of this proclamation was to give the Irish the just appellation of **REBELS**, yet **GEORGHAN** insists upon it that they were not rebels; "who are those alone, he says, that rise against their Sovereign." The King's whole authority in that country was vested in the Justices and Council; and to say, as the Abbot does, that the Irish acknowledged only the King for their Sovereign, and did not acknowledge the sovereignty of the Justices and Council, and therefore their rising against them was no rebellion, is such an evasion of the truth, as the greatest candour cannot excuse. But this proclamation was ineffectual; and the rebels were now united in one body, under the title of the "confederate

federate Roman Catholicicks of Ireland ;" to which confederacy they bound themselves by an oath of association, which was generally taken by them throughout the kingdom. They swear, " that at all hazards they will maintain the free and public exercise of their religion, that they will bear allegiance to the King, defend him against those that shall endeavour to suppress his prerogative or do any act contrary to his regal government, and also the powers and privileges of Parliament, the rights and privileges of the subject, and every person that took that oath in whatever they should do in lawful pursuance of the same; and by all means oppose, and endeavour to bring to condign punishment, even to the loss of life, liberty, and estate, all such as should in any way whatever attempt any thing to the contrary of any one article in this vow or oath contained." The absurdity and contradiction of this oath of association, stares every one so much in the face, that nothing but an infatuation, under which these people seem to have been from the beginning, could have reconciled it to a man of the meanest understanding. The first article is, that they will maintain the free and public exercise of their religion, and therefore the King, whom by another article they swear to bear allegiance to and defend, who they knew did oppose that article, they vowed to punish, if it was in their power, with the loss of his life, and liberty: another article is, that they will defend him with their life, power, and estate, against all such as shall do any act contrary to his regal government; at the same time that every act of theirs in this rebellion, even this very oath of association itself, was contrary to his regal government, and was high treason. But I have dwelt too long perhaps on an absurdity, too flagrant to pass among any other people than among the Irish.

CHARLES I.

A. 1642.

In answer, it may be, to this oath of association, which was circulated over the kingdom, the Council issued a proclamation on the eighth of February, declaring sixty five Gentlemen by name, their aiders and confederates, to be traitors and rebels; and requiring all his Majesty's good subjects to pursue and plague them with fire and sword, and to apprehend and kill them. It was further therein declared, " that whosoever before the five and twentieth day of March, should kill, and bring to the Lords Justices, the heads of SR. PHE. O NEIL, SR. CON. MAGENIS, RO. MACGUIRE, PH. O REILY, or COL. MAC-

BORLASE.

CHARLES I. MAHON, who were the principal conspirators and the first actors in this rebellion, should have by way of reward
 A. 1642. for the head of **SR. PHE. O NEIL** one thousand pounds, and for each head of the others before named six hundred pounds, with a full pardon for all the offences of those who should so kill or bring in any of their heads : and if any one should kill them, and not bring in their heads, upon due proof made of being killed, shall receive as a reward for killing **SR. P. O NEIL** eight hundred pounds, and for the others four hundred each, with a pardon as before." It is further set forth in the same proclamation, " that whosoever under the degree of a Knight—except the said **O REILY**, and **MACMAHON**, **L. TOOLE**, the descendants of **FEAGH BIRNE**, and except **RO. MOORE** shall before the said day, kill, and bring to the said Justices the heads of all or any of the other persons therein named, shall have as a reward for every head four hundred pounds, and pardon as before ; or for killing them without bringing in their heads, due proof being made, for every one of them so killed three hundred pounds, together with a pardon for all offences." This had been a policy, which, in former rebellions in that country, had produced a good effect ; but at present, what with the oath of association, and what with this war being now made, by many of their enemies as well as their friends, a war of religion, few or none were destroyed by virtue of this proclamation.

After a tedious expectation and many promises from England, at last towards the end of February, the Lord Lieutenant's regiment of fifteen hundred foot under Lieutenant Colonel **MONCK**, and four hundred horse under **SR. R. GRENVILLE**, arrived at Dublin. If the Administration were disappointed at so inconsiderable a supply of men, they were much more chagrined that they brought neither money nor provisions ; for both which the State was in the utmost distress, and that distress must increase as the number of their men increased. The garrison of Drogheda had been already seventeen weeks behind in their pay ; the rest of the army, old and new, had received none for two months ; and the arrears of the old army had none of them been discharged. The Council therefore compelled the inhabitants of Dublin, on whom the soldiers were billeted for their lodging, to give them credit for their diet on their promise of speedy payment. But all access to the city, and their trade

trade failing, to their poverty was added a great scarcity CHARLES I.
of provisions; the villages, and the country round it, be-
ing imprudently burned or laid waste by the Council, to A. 1642.
prevent the rebels subsisting there, instead of sending out
their troops to secure the country for their own accommo-
dation. Hence many inconveniencies ensued to the ar-
my. Such of the soldiers as could get off for England de-
serted; of those who were prevented doing so by a pro-
clamation, some necessitated by want, robbed and plun-
dered; others, feeding only upon salt herrings, fell into
diseases, and died in great numbers. In this situation they
were at Dublin when the troops above mentioned arrived;
and tho' they added to their strength, they added also
to the scarcity of provision, and to the dangers arising
from want of pay. Tho' the Lords of the Pale had not
committed any hostilities, yet three thousand of the rebels
being posted at a castle within seven miles of Dublin, a
place of great strength on account of the woods and other
fastnesses, and it being necessary now to give the army
some employment, the Lieutenant General, considering the
wild and cruel orders which the Ministers gave for this
expedition, chose to go on it himself. For they ordered
him not only "to kill and destroy rebels and their ad-
herents and relievers, but to burn, waste, consume, and
demolish, all the places, towns, and houses, where they
had been relieved and harboured, with all the corn and
hay there; and also to kill and destroy all the male inha-
bitants capable to bear arms." Can any one read this or-
der, and think that these Justices had any reason to com-
plain of the cruelties of the ignorant and savage Irish? It
must be owned however that Lord ORMONDE had more
humanity; and thinking that such an order was less bar-
barous in his hands, than in those of some others with
whom they might be entrusted, he commanded the party
himself. When he came up to the rebels, he burnt
a few villages, and some houses near them, in order to
draw them out of their fastnesses; and finding that way
ineffectual, he attacked them in their intrenchments,
drove them out, and routed them.

The long and great distresses of the garrison of Drogheda, which had been blockaded by the rebels for three months, had made but little impression at the castle of Dublin. The Council were too much taken up with their own fears and danger to spare them any assistance;

CHARLES I. except some biscuit and ammunition at one time, and at another, when horse-flesh, dogs, and cats were greedy food, a good supply of provisions. Even after this late accession to their strength, the Lords Justices were not satisfied that it was proper to attempt to raise the siege. There was every consideration in the world to induce them to this attempt, besides the incredible hardships and dangers which the garrison had so long endured, and from which in justice they ought to be relieved as soon as possible. As the season of the year was coming on to permit a regular siege, and the place was untenable against it, the destruction of so many brave men, who would probably have no quarter, would be not only an irreparable loss, but, when they had such an army lying idle within the walls of Dublin in their neighbourhood, would expose the Administration to all the world. Even supposing the rebels to spare their lives, they would most certainly disarm the garrison, as they had done every other; and the very supply of arms and ammunition, of which they were in the utmost want, would be a mischief to the State which they ought to prevent. Besides the town itself, on account of its situation between Dublin and the North, and of its river and harbour, was of great importance: neither was any doubt to be made, if Drogheda should be taken, but that the forces of the rebels from all parts of the kingdom would be drawn against Dublin; which, when they were every where masters of the field, would be subdued by famine, if nothing else. But should the siege be raised, it would in a manner crush the rebellion, their own people would be revived, the rebels disheartened, Dublin would be secured, and the whole kingdom rescued from imminent danger. On the other side it was suggested, that the attempt to raise the siege was not only hazardous, but the mischiefs of a miscarriage would be irretrievable; that the town would then be immediately given up: and when it was known that the forces were drawn out of Dublin, the rebels in Wicklow and the adjoining counties might probably fall upon them, and Dublin would be lost without a siege. The Council being distracted between these two opinions, did, as most timorous people do on such occasions, take a middle way between both. Necessity obliged them to send the troops out of Dublin for their subsistence; and tho' they would not part with them so far as Drogheda, which is above

twenty miles, yet they resolved to send between three and four thousand into the Pale, to burn and pillage; in hopes the plunder would please the army, and the report of their advancing would raise the siege. CHARLES I.
A. 1642.

On the third of March therefore, an order was given to Lord ORMONDE, to go with three thousand foot and five hundred horse against the rebels in the counties of Meath and Dublin, and to burn and destroy as he should think fit, the places, towns, and houses, where they and their adherents usually resided; but to take care that no corn, hay, or houses should be burned within five miles of Dublin: and though he was allowed to march into such places as he saw fit between the sea and the Boyne, yet he was on no consideration allowed to pass that river. The Council were at their wits end, lest the General, when he had got his troops upon the march, should break in upon his orders, as he had been so pressing at the board for the relief of Drogheda, and carry them further than they intended. Not contented therefore with having tied him up so strictly in their instructions, PARSONS wrote him a letter in which he acquainted him, "that having considered of the expedition and some consequences of it concerning his Lordship, they had resolved to entreat him earnestly to stay at home, and to let them send away the army under the conduct of SR. SIM. HARCOURT, wherein they desired his Lordship's approbation." But the King having entrusted him particularly with the command of his army, his Lordship refused to let it march upon an expedition of such consequence, and in which so much liberty of plunder and spoil was given, under the conduct of any General besides himself. When he was advanced to some distance from Dublin in the way to Drogheda, he sent out parties to waste and pillage the country; in order to draw some of the rebels to him, and to make it be believed that he was marching to raise the siege. The report of his march had the effect expected. SR. PH. O'NEIL sent away his cannon to Dundalk; and the whole force of the rebels, quitting the neighbourhood of Drogheda, dispersed themselves in great haste, and fled towards the North. Upon the news of this event, Lord ORMONDE consulted with SR. S. HARCOURT, SR. THO. LUCAS, and SR. ROB. FARRER, the Generals under him; who were unanimous in opinion with him, that by an immediate pursuit of the rebels to

CHARLES I. Newry, with their own army, and what might now be spared from Drogheda, here was a fair opportunity offered for reducing the North into obedience, and for putting an end to the war. Lord ORMONDE sent an account of this to the Ministry, and desired most earnestly to have his authority enlarged for this pursuit : and as he found a disposition in the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, to lay down their arms and to surrender, he desired also that he might have instructions what he should do in case they came in to him ; and whether he was to burn and destroy the houses and goods of those Lords, on account of their quality, and of no directions having been sent from England, though desired by the Council about them. He sent with the officer and a party of horse who carried this letter, Colonel READ, and two Gentlemen, who had come in to him the day before. Whatever excuse might be made in time past for the Administration, on account of their fears, in not permitting the General to attempt the relief of Drogheda, yet now, so great an alteration in the state of affairs had been made by the dispersion of the rebels, that weakness and timidity can no longer be pleaded, in justification of the refusal which they gave the General. Had three thousand rebels been at the gates of Dublin, they could not have been more agitated than they were now at receiving this proposal from Lord ORMONDE, for carrying the army to Newry in pursuit of the rebels. The Council were summoned in great haste, and an answer drawn immediately. Instead of rejoicing at an event, which not only put them into perfect safety, but which gave a probable prospect of putting an end to the war, if the opinion of the Generals were complied with, they abide by their former order for him not to pass the Boyne ; they direct him to admit those that came in, as prisoners of war only, who should be first seized by the soldiers, if it could be so, before they had access to his Lordship, whom he was not afterwards to see ; they order that there should be no difference between the Noblemen and other rebels, in burning and laying waste their goods and houses ; and in their great condescension, they give the general leave, in case the necessity of the service requires it, and he receives no orders from them to the contrary in the interim, to stay two or three days longer than the eight days to which they had before confined him. As soon as his Lordship had sent away his letter, he continued his

his march towards Drogheda, and hastened thither himself with the General Officers just mentioned, in order to consult further with SR. H. TITCHBORNE, and Lord MOORE, who had so gallantly defended that place, and were best acquainted with the forces of the rebels. They were entirely of the opinion that had been given before; and therefore Lord ORMONDE drew up another letter to the Ministry, to press an enlargement of his authority to pursue the rebels, which was signed by all the other five Officers as well as himself. They made themselves so sure of obtaining what was asked, that his Lordship told the Council in his letter, he should march immediately to Atherdee and Dundalk, and either burn or garrison those places as should be directed; and desired that some ammunition, meal, and biscuit, might be forthwith sent to Drogheda by sea, as the fittest place to serve for a magazine to supply the army.

The Earl of ORMONDE had seen many proofs of the weakness or the wickedness of those at the helm, since this rebellion had been on foot; but he did not know them yet. The measures which he had concerted with the other Generals, were all broken by the answer, above recited, which he received from Dublin. A letter from SR. J. TEMPLE accompanied it, under the notion of particular friendship to his Lordship; in which having told him, that his proposal of pursuing the rebels to Newry was disapproved by the whole board, and by some very sharply resented, he beseeched him to be very careful how he received any submissions, and to observe punctually the directions given him; very modestly bidding him "remember, he had no commission to receive any, otherwise than they had directed." The reader will easily guess at the resentment which Lord ORMONDE must feel, at being thus controlled in the command of the army, by men who were not soldiers, and were so much inferior to him in every respect. But if he was uneasy on his own account, he was not less so on account of the public service; which he saw was sacrificed to the imperious humour, or the malignant disposition, of the Lords Justices and their creatures. The last uneasiness he kept to himself for the present; the other his Lordship communicated in a letter to them the next day. He tells them, "that such a confidence was usually reposed in the judgment and fidelity of those that were honoured with the command

CHARLES I.

A. 1642.

CHARLES I. mand of an army, as that it was left to them, when, and where, to prosecute an enemy; and that he took this to be his due, though he was content to depart from it. He assured them, that all the general officers approved as much of the execution of the design, as he himself who had proposed it; but that nevertheless he was applying himself to perform their last commands. He knew very well the terms on which he stood with the Lords Justices, for having constantly opposed their pusillanimous inactive measures with regard to the army, and their violence and cruelty with regard to the Roman Catholicks not in arms; and therefore if he should give them any pretence for an accusation, in order to remove him, the King in his present circumstance could not protect him, nor put another into the command of the army in whom he could confide.

A. 1642.

When he communicated his orders to Lord MOORE, and Sr. H. TICHBORNE, and his intentions instantly to obey them, they were astonished to the last degree. The Ministers had not condescended to give any reason for continuing these orders, after such an alteration in the state of affairs; and no reason for it could be conjectured. The Generals saw no appearance of any important business about Dublin, that should require such a speedy return,—which Dr. BORLASE absurdly says, “was BENEATH the capacity of those who would have had it otherwise,”—but they saw here was a fair opportunity lost, of reducing the whole county of Louth into obedience, and of putting garrisons into Ardee and Dundalk, which would curb the Northern rebels, if nothing further; and they looked upon these orders with indignation. They sent to Lord ORMONDE however to spare them some of his army, and two pieces of cannon, in order to take in the strong houses about Drogheda; and they imparted to him some intelligence they had received of the distressed condition of the rebels. His Lordship thought this advice important enough for him to make one effort more to prevail with the Administration to revoke their order. For this purpose he called another council of war; to which, besides the Officers who had assisted before, Lord LAMBERT, and Sr. RICH. GRENVILLE were added. The case was so clear, that there was a fair opportunity of giving the rebels a great defeat, if not a total overthrow, which might never offer again without much blood and treasure, that they resolved unanimously to inform the Ministry, “that

“ that they could not consistent with their faith to his Majesty’s service, or their due respect to the State, pursue their intentions of returning before they had communicated to them the letters of Lord MOORE and SR. H. TICHBORNE, and received their Lordships directions; and considering the great benefit, and the little hazard, of freeing the country at least as far as Dundalk from being the seat of war, by pursuing the rebels, they unanimously besought the Council to send them orders to proceed, together with a supply of ammunition, and provision, and some shoes and stockings. But their representations were all in vain. The Council, who were the creatures of PARSONS—for BORLASE was but a cypher—adhered to their first order; and as they had no reasons which they durst avow, they gave none at all for their refusal. They gave leave indeed to Lord ORMONDE to send the re-inforcement desired by SR. H. TICHBORNE: and for fear he should be remiss in executing their former order, after this infamous treatment of him, they repeated their instructions to him, to burn all the houses of the rebels and their adherents in his return.

CHARLES I.
A. 1649.

At the same time that they persisted in their obstinate or traitorous resolution of recalling the army, they complain in their letters to the Lord Lieutenant, that they could not subsist the troops upon their return; that for want of clothes, the common soldiers were exposed to cold and nakedness, in a manner that was dishonourable to the State; and, from the unwholesomeness of their diet, many of them were daily dying.” Why then did they not permit the army to pursue the rebels into a plentiful country, which had not yet been wasted; that they might live upon the spoil and contributions of the enemy, and supply themselves with necessaries out of their stock and plunder? The reader perhaps will expect to find the reason in their next dispatch to the Lord Lieutenant. But not a word is there to be seen of the state of the Northern rebels, of the General’s application for leave to pursue them in their distress, and of their refusal. Such an absolute silence in so important an affair, and at a juncture so critical, gives an unfavourable impression of the truth and faithfulness of the representations made into England by this Council. As Lord ORMONDE’s march with the army from Dublin, had frightened the rebels from the blockade of Drogheda, and his advancing to that place had also driven them away from Ardee and Dundalk, so they no sooner heard of his return

CHARLES I. return, than they took possession of those places again, and began to draw together their scattered forces. SR. H.

A. 1648. TITCHBORNE, and Lord MOORE, having reduced some strong houses in the environs of Drogheda, and burned the country in the barony of Slane, advanced towards Ardee. They were met by a party of rebels whom they soon routed: but the town was too ruinous and wasted to be worth keeping possession of; they marched on therefore to Dundalk, which had a garrison of eight hundred rebels, and which, besides its natural strength, they had fortified with a double ditch. SR. HENRY assaulted it immediately upon his coming up to it, and with a very inconsiderable force took it by storm. About an hundred of the enemy were killed in the place: but the rest, with SR. PH. O NEIL their commander, being favoured by the dusk of the evening, made their escape. When SR. HENRY had taken this place, which he thought of vast importance to the public service, he made strong representations to the Lords Justices for a reinforcement; but as they pretended they had not forces enough, to send him such a supply as would enable him to keep both that and Drogheda, they thought the first must be deserted. He maintained it however against all the forces of the rebels; though by not being pursued, they had time to recover their spirits, and to gather again in a body: And if he with so small a force, after a fortnight's loss of time, could reduce the whole county of Lowth, what might not the Earl of ORMONDE and the other Generals have done towards ending the war, with an army of four times the number of the other, had his Lordship been permitted to pursue the rebels, in the height of their terror and consternation?—But it is time to leave these proceedings, and to return to England.

RUSHWORT.
CLAREND.

The reader may remember that we left it, when the King was separating from his Parliament, highly dissatisfied with each other, and removing to York. But before he went from Windsor, he took great offence at MR. PYM's affirming in a speech, printed by order of the House of Commons, "that since the stop upon the ports against all Irish Papists by the two Houses, many of the chief commanders, now in the head of the rebels, had been suffered to pass by his Majesty's immediate warrant." The King demanded to know, if this were a genuine, or a spurious speech; and if the former, upon what information that charge was grounded, that it might either be found to have been

been false, or he might know by whose fault his authority CHARLES I. had been so highly abused. The House of Commons owned the speech, and averred what MR. PYM had said A. 1642. to be true; though they believed that the warrants were without his Majesty's knowledge. The King declared his dissatisfaction with this answer; and was positive no such person had passed by his warrant, since the order of the two Houses. He expected therefore that they should name the persons, who had been licensed by him to pass into Ireland, and were then in the head of the rebels, or that they would publicly own their mistake. The Commons named several, to whom, and their companies, passes had been granted, "who might be doubted to be of the party of the rebels." His Majesty said in answer, that for any thing that had been yet declared, he could not see any grounds for that bold affirmation which PYM had made to both Houses; as there had not been any particular person named, that was then so much as in rebellion, much less in the head of the rebels, to whom he had given a licence to pass over: and therefore he insisted on a public declaration of their mistake. But such a declaration would have convicted their favourite of a deliberate falsehood; and so as they could not defend him, they chose to give no further answer. When the King passed the bill for impressing men, soon after, by commission, he sent a message to both Houses; declaring, that "as he had concurred in all propositions made for the service of Ireland by his Parliament, so he was resolved to leave nothing undone for their relief, which should possibly fall within his power: nor would he refuse to venture his own person in that war, if the Parliament should think it convenient for the reduction of that miserable kingdom." In a short time after, he sent them another message, in which he "earnestly desired them to use all possible industry in expediting the business of Ireland, in which they should find so chearful a concurrence in him, that no inconvenience should happen to that service by his absence, being unable by words to manifest more affection to it, than he had endeavoured to do by his former messages, having likewise done all such acts as he had been moved unto by Parliament. Therefore if the misfortunes and calamities of his poor Protestant subjects there should grow upon them, though he should be deeply concerned and sensible of their sufferings, he should wash his hands before all the world, from the least imputation of slackness,

CHARLES I. nels, in that most necessary and pious work." To make therefore some shew of their own zeal towards it, but in reality to put the disposal of so much money into their own power, they prepared an act for the payment of four hundred thousand pounds, to such persons as were nominated by themselves, and to be issued in such manner as the two houses should direct : and as the King had committed the carrying on the war of Ireland to them, he was obliged to pass the act with such general clauses ; though it put it in their power to divert the money to other uses than those for which it was given ; and they did divert it accordingly. The Commons also voted an order, " that the corn, victuals, and other provisions to be sent to relieve the Protestants in Ireland, should be transported free of customs."

RUSHWORT. But many people, who saw that the zeal of the Parliament, towards suppressing the insurrection in Ireland, consisted principally of words, and that it never would be suppressed by the way they took, proposed a method of raising money that would be speedy and effectual ; to which the two Houses assented in the following manner : That two million and a half of acres of the rebels lands in that kingdom, of English measure, consisting of meadow, arable, and pasture—the bogs, woods, and mountains to be holden in free and common socage of the King—should be allotted and divided after this proportion ; to each adventurer of two hundred pounds, a thousand acres in Ulster, for three hundred pounds, a thousand acres in Connaught ; for four hundred and fifty pounds, a thousand acres in Munster ; and for six hundred pounds, a thousand acres in Leinster ; paying a penny an acre in the first province, two-pence halfpenny in the second, two-pence three farthings in the third, and three-pence an acre in the province of Leinster, quit-rent to the Crown : That for the erecting of manours, settling wastes and commons, maintenance of ministers, creating of corporations, and regulating of plantations, commissions should be hereafter granted by authority of Parliament : That the money for this great occasion might be the more speedily advanced, all the undertakers in the city of London, and within twenty miles of it, should underwrite their several sums before the twentieth day of March, all within sixty miles before the first of April, and the rest of the kingdom before the first of May. These propositions, with some others about the days and sums in which payment was to be made, being approved by the two Houses and laid by them

them before the King, his Majesty made answer, " that as he had offered, and was still ready, to venture his own person for the recovery of that kingdom, if his Parliament should advise him thereunto so he would not deny to contribute any other assistance he could to that service, by parting with any profit or advantage of his own there : and therefore relying upon the wisdom of his Parliament, he consented to every proposition now made him, without taking time to examine, whether that course might not retard reducing that kingdom, by exasperating the rebels and rendering them desperate ; and that he would give his assent to any act for confirming these propositions." The Parliament took care in drawing the bill, to insert such clauses of authority to themselves, and diminution of the King's, as in a manner to put the making a peace with the rebels out of his power ; but he was obliged to pass it. This being all that was done here relating to Ireland at the end of March, I shall now lead the reader back thither again.

During the late expedition to Drogheda, several Gentlemen of the Pale—probably convinced, by the raising of that siege, of the folly of the insurrection—came in and submitted to Lord ORMOND : and as they had none of them been in any action with the rebels, and some of them had been plundered by the Irish, they depended upon being received to mercy. Lord DUNSANY, whose family had been always loyal, who was himself English, and by descent, alliance, and affection constant to that interest, had wrote to Lord ORMOND to desire his protection. He had retired out of the Pale, when the other Lords and Gentlemen of that country had joined the Irish, and lived quietly in his own house ; doing all acts of humanity to the distressed English, even at the hazard of his life, till he came about this time with his son to Dublin, and surrendered himself to the Government. The Lords NETERVILLE, and SLANE, and many of the principal Gentry in that district, had made an offer, if they might be accepted, of the like submissions : and this practice there was becoming so general, that the Ministry thought it time to put a stop to it. It appears by their letter to the Lord Lieutenant at that time, that they thought themselves much wiser than other Ministers had been, by too easily receiving submissions, and granting pardon to rebels ; and therefore they should take another course. Some of those Gentlemen of the Pale had been indicted of high treason,

for

CHARLES I. for having been seen to converse with some of the rebels, whilst the rebels were masters of their country, and the bills had been found by the grand juries ; who were so extremely alert as to find several hundreds, as it hath been already said, in two days. The Ministers resolved therefore to have these tried in a legal course ; in order to shew the rest, that their submission would entitle them to no favour, as well as to lead to a full resumption of the King's just and regal power.—**MR. CARTE** hath gone further, and hath charged the Ministers with a breach of the royal word in the proclamation ; wherein mercy was promised to such as should immediately lay down their arms and forbear further hostility : but there is no such promise in the proclamation—of which the reader hath had the substance already—nor any intimation of such favour ; and therefore this charge upon them is without foundation.

A. 1642.

It is evident however, from their last letter to the Lord Lieutenant, just mentioned, that they hoped for an extirpation, not of the mere Irish only, but of all the old English families also that were Roman Catholicks. Hence all the Gentlemen that surrendered themselves, were, without being admitted to the presence of the Justices, committed prisoners to the castle ; preparations were made for their trial ; and it was publicly said, that they should be prosecuted with the utmost severity. But as they had never appeared in the field, nor been engaged in any war-like action, proper facts were wanting to support a charge against them. To supply this defect, the Lords Justices had recourse to the rack, tho' against the law, in order to extort such confessions as these miscreants had a mind to put into the mouths of those unhappy men who were to undergo it. Could they bring any of them to confess, that all the Catholicks in the kingdom, especially those of the Pale, were originally concerned in the conspiracy, or to charge the King with authorising or encouraging the rebellion, the first would justify their intended severity to those Gentlemen, and forward their own scheme of extirpation ; and the last would serve the purpose of their faction in the English Parliament. The first person brought to the rack was **MACMAHON** ; whom the reader must remember to have been taken on **O CONOLLY**'s information, when the conspiracy was discovered. I copied his examination from the Bishop of **CLOGHER**'s manuscripts in the College library ; and in that examination he had nothing but

but hearsay evidence to give ; which amounts only to his CHARLES I.
 having been told, that Lord MACGUIRE, SR. P. O'NEIL,
 and PHIL. O'REILY were the chief conspirators ; that A. 1642.
 all the Papists in Parliament last summer, knew, and ap-
 proved of the rebellion ; that the Committee then employ-
 ed into England would procure an order or commission from
 the King to proceed in their rebellious courses ; that he
 was told last October, that the King had given a commissi-
 on to the Papists to seize upon all the garrisons and strong
 holds, and that he should see it when he came to Dublin ;
 but he doth not say that ever he saw any such commission.
 It hath already been observed, that there is no dependance
 to be had upon any thing that was said by the leaders of
 this rebellion in order to draw in the weak and credulous :
 and tho' the Council knew the falshood of the pretence as
 to any commission from the King, yet it served the views
 of his enemies, and helped to blow up the fears and jea-
 lousies that they daily inculcated on the people. This ex-
 amination however being not enough to the point to satis-
 fy men of sense, the next day SR. JOHN READ, by the
 same stretch of arbitrary power, was brought to the rack.
 This Gentleman hath been already mentioned, as of the
 privy chamber to the King, a Lieutenant Colonel in the
 late disbanded army, and engaged by the Lords of the Pale
 to carry over their petitions to the King and Queen. He
 intended to make no secret of his journey, and therefore
 sent a letter by a servant of his own to PARSONS, to desire
 a pass ; who, in answer, required him to repair to Dublin
 that the Council might confer with him. Whether he had
 joined the rebel army before Drogheda, as some writers
 say, or whether he was intercepted only by them in his
 return thither to his house, as others say, is not certainly
 to be determined : the former appears to me to be the bet-
 ter opinion. But be this as it might.

On the rebels marching away from Drogheda, SR. J.
 READ went directly to Lord ORMONDE, and was the first
 that gave him intelligence of the siege being raised. But
 when his Lordship in his letter to the Council mentions
 Colonel READ's coming in to him, with two other Gen-
 tlemen, he adds, " that he had thought fit to send these
 to be disposed of according to their Lordships pleasures,
 and their own demerit." When he was brought to Dub-
 lin, his papers were seized, and he himself committed pri-
 soner. Besides the petitions to the King and Queen,
 which were not transmitted to them by the Council, he

CHARLES I.

A. 1642.

was charged with a letter to themselves from Lord NETTERVILLE; in which he desired a safe conduct for his own person and two or three others, that they might go to Dublin to see the King's proclamation, which they were told had commanded them to lay down their arms and submit to his mercy; in order, if it was true, that they might render obedience to it. There was nothing in these papers that could make the bearer of them subject to any punishment; but SR. JOHN READ was notwithstanding put upon the rack, and there examined. What sort of confession they drew from him does not appear: though as the Ministers sent his examination to the House of Commons, and it was never heard of any more, it may be concluded, I think with certainty, that there was nothing which could be interpreted to the King's dishonour. The king indeed was a stranger to all these proceedings: and tho' the Justices wrote to Mr. Secretary NICHOLAS, by the same post which carried this examination to the House of Commons, yet they said not one word to him about it: which shews that they acted in concert with the leaders here, if not by their direction. The King however having heard by several reports of these examinations, ordered the Secretary to write for them to the Lords Justices: but they conscious, no doubt, of their iniquity in this transaction, and being determined to be governed by the English Parliament, rather than by the King, forbore to send him any account: upon which he sent to Lord ORMONDE for a copy of the examinations: but they were as industriously concealed as they were clandestinely taken; and his Lordship, tho' a Privy Councillor, was not able to comply with the King's request: but this was not all. SR. J. READ was sent a prisoner to England; and whilst absent, and in those circumstances, was indicted and outlawed for high treason; his Lady and goods were seized upon, and she and his children turned out of doors: and when she petitioned to these worthy Justices to assign her some part of her effects to maintain her family, they absolutely refused to allow her any; tho' the Barons of the Exchequer, to whom her petition was referred, certified that it did not appear to them what her husband's offence was; nor how, nor for what cause the Crown might be entitled to his goods or other estate. After such proceedings as these, what fidelity had the King to expect from these Ministers: and what mercy could those flatter themselves with, who laid
down

down their arms and submitted to them? The reader will be apt to ask, why the King did not immediately dismiss these men from a trust which they abused, and from a power which they violated, against law, and against humanity; and natural as the question is, it cannot be answered but by conjecture. He knew the reports that had been spread to his disadvantage about this affair of Ireland; and it was not one of the greatest injuries he suffered from such reports, that he durst not employ those in whom he most confided.

The racking MACMAHON, and SR. J. READ, did not content this merciless Administration; and so MR. BARNWALL of Kilbrew was put to the same torture. He was one of the most considerable Gentlemen of the Pale; a venerable old man of sixty six years of age, delighting in husbandry, a lover of quiet, and highly respected in his country. He had sent intelligence to the Government of the motion of the Ulster rebels in the month of November; and the only thing that could be said against him was, that he had obeyed the Sheriff's summons for the meeting at the hill of Crofty, when Lord GORMANSTON declared an union with them. It does not appear that he approved the union, or that he actually had joined them upon any occasion; and so little did the Ministers get by putting him to the torture, that it only served to make his innocence, and their own inhumanity, the more conspicuous. His innocence was in truth so very clear, that when a party was sent out afterwards to gather the harvest about Kilbrew, there was a particular order, to take care of his stock and effects. The Lords of the Pale, finding with what contempt their application to the Ministry, by Colonel READ, had been treated, joined in a request to Lord CASTLEHAVEN, that he would move the government that they might be licenced to meet in a convenient place—having laid down their arms in obedience to the King's proclamation, tho' they could never see it,—where they might draw up their grievances to be presented to his Majesty; and in the mean time that a cessation of arms might be continued. Lord CASTLEHAVEN was descended of a very ancient family, who had been Barons of England from the time of EDWARD the first. But the honours, and the English estate having been forfeited by his father, King CHARLES had restored him both to the Earldom of Castlehaven, and the barony of Audley; the English estate having been granted away.

CHARLES I. He was a man of good parts, great honour, and a very active spirit. His genius leading him to arms, and the small remains of his family estate not enabling him to live suitably to his quality, he went abroad with a view of instruction in the military art, and of an employment in some foreign service : and having been at the siege of Turin, and also made a campaign in Flanders, he came home to settle his estate, in order to return into the army of some Prince abroad. At that juncture, the rebellion broke out in Ireland ; and as soon as he heard of it, he hastened away to Dublin, and offered his service to the Lords Justices : but they told him, that his religion was an obstacle against his having any command. He then desired a passport to go to England, where a Parliament was sitting, of which he was a Peer ; but this was likewise very unjustifiably refused him ; and he attended the Irish Parliament the two days they were allowed to sit. His Lordship then acquainted the Ministry, that his estate there was not sufficient to maintain him in Dublin ; and desired he might be supplied with some money for his subsistence, till such time as he could apply himself to the Parliament in England for a pass to carry him over ; but this they also denied him : and since they would neither employ him in the army, nor permit him to go to England, nor enable him to live at Dublin, he desired they would direct him what he was to do ; to which they replied, that he should go home and make fair weather. This advice he took ; and retired to Maddingstown, a little hunting seat in the county of Kildare : where he was very serviceable in relieving the English that were robbed and stripped in those parts, and from whence he sent frequent intelligence to the Administration, and the troops quartered at Naas, of the proceedings of the rebels.

Whilst Lord CASTLEHAVEN was thus employed, the Lords of the Pale inclosed to him the letter to the Lords Justices above mentioned. The letter, his Lordship says in his memoirs, was very humble and submissive : wherefore he sent it in one of his own, which was little more than a cover ; but the Ministers were silent about that from the Lords of the Pale, said they were rebels and traitors, and advised his Lordship to receive no more letters from them : and as to his own request of a pass into England, they again refused it, and enjoined him not to leave the kingdom without one. The arbitrary power exercised by the Lords Justices on every side ; their illegal

gal exertion of it in bringing people to the rack to draw **CHARLES I.** confessions from them ; their sending out so many parties; from Dublin, and other garrisons, to kill and destroy the rebels, in which care was seldom taken to distinguish ; and men, women and children were promiscuously slain ; but above all the martial law executed by **SR. C. COOTE** ; and the burning the Pale, for seventeen miles in length and twenty-five in breadth, by the Earl of **ORMONDE** ; these measures not only exasperated the rebels, and induced them to commit the like or greater cruelties upon the English, but they terrified the Nobility and Gentry from all thoughts of submission, and convinced them that there was no room to hope for pardon, nor any means of safety left them but in the sword. Tho' the Lords of the Pale had put themselves into arms, and made a formal declaration of their conjunction with the Ulster rebels, yet this union was far from being hearty, and was scarcely more than in name. For when the former had raised an army, they took care that no part of it should be under the command of the old Irish ; and attempted to engage the neighbouring counties to acknowledge Lord **GORMANSTON** for their General. Some of their Chiefs made visits to the Ulster officers in their quarters about Drogheda ; but it does not appear, says **MR. CARTE**, that they ever remained with them, carried any of their forces, or engaged in any attempt upon the place, or in any other action with them : But in Lord **CLANRICARDE**'s memoirs, there is a letter to him from four Lords of the Pale, dated "from the Catholick camp near Drogheda ;" tho' they might not long remain there : and as to the operations of their own army, notwithstanding they took possession of several towns and put garrisons in them ; yet upon Lord **ORMONDE**'s approach with the royal army, they quitted them ; and in the great devastation of their country by the forces under him, wherein their own and their tenants houses were burned, they made no opposition. There is no accounting for this inactivity, but by supposing that they had repented of their union with the Irish, as soon as they had made it ; and that they had flattered themselves with the hopes, that by barely standing upon their guard, they should not be embarked beyond a possibility of retreat. The frequent quarrels of the Chiefs on both sides, observed by the prisoners, in which the Gentlemen of the Pale would frequently lament their combination with

CHARLES I. those that had always been their enemies, prove the first supposition; and the last is evident from the submissions they offered to make, and laying down their arms on the King's proclamation. The Lord GORMANSTON, who was the principal mover in the union with the Irish, and in bringing in the other Lords of the Pale to quit the insurrection, was so affected with the behaviour of the former, and with the severity exercised by those in power, that he died not long after of grief: and his associates growing desperate, at seeing no hopes of pardon, or of peace, joined all their forces in support of the common cause.

A. 1642.

The cruelties of the martial law under **SR. C. COOTE** have been already mentioned: but about this time when it was thought politick to discourage the submissions, which were growing frequent, Father HIGGINS, a very quiet pious inoffensive man, who had put himself under the protection of Lord ORMONDE, and whom his Lordship had brought with him to Dublin, was one morning seized; and, without any trial, or delay, or giving his Lordship any notice of the intention, by **SR. C. COOTE's** order hanged. **F. HIGGINS** officiated as a priest at Naas and in that neighbourhood; had distinguished himself greatly by saving the English in those parts from spoil and slaughter; and had relieved several whom he found had been stripped and plundered; so far was he from engaging in the rebellion, or giving any encouragement to it. Lord ORMONDE had therefore taken him under his protection on his return from that expedition; and when he heard of the execution of this innocent man, for no other reason than his being a priest, his Lordship was very warm in his expostulation with the Justices upon it at the Council board. They pretended to be surpris'd; and excused themselves for having had any other hand in the affair than giving **SR. C. COOTE** a general authority, to order such executions without consulting them. Lord ORMONDE told them very plainly, that he did not expect they would order or suffer, one so well recommended to him, and so justly taken under his protection, to be put to death in that manner; and insisted that **COOTE** should be tried for what he had done, as having hanged an innocent, nay a deserving subject, without examination, without trial, and without a particular warrant to authorise him in it. The dispute was warm on both sides. The Justices, who had either directed him to do it, or were determined to support their favourite in a proceeding which

was

which was agreeable to them, would not give him up; **CHARLES I.** and Lord ORMONDE threatened to throw up his commission, unless they gave him satisfaction. This was probably the very thing they wanted: and therefore though he highly resented this indignity, as he had good reason to do, yet considering the ill consequences to the King and to his country, by throwing up his commission at this juncture, he resolved not to gratify them in parting with it. Their hanging a man of character at all, deserving in many respects, and exceptionable in none but his religion, inclines one to think, that they intended this war should be understood to be a war of religion. But their hanging him in such a manner, by martial law by **SR. C. COOTE's** authority only, against justice and humanity when brought thither and protected by Lord ORMONDE, could be only meant to prevent all submissions, or to offer such an indignity to his Lordship, as should provoke him to resign his commission, and to oppose them no longer in Council.—It is time now to view the proceedings in other parts of the kingdom.

The rebels having possessed themselves of a castle in the county of Wicklow, within four miles of Dublin, **SR. S. HARCOURT** was sent out with a small party in order to dislodge them. But being obliged to send back for some battering cannon, whilst he waited for these and was giving his soldiers some orders, one of the rebels perceiving him discharged his piece at him, and gave him a mortal wound; of which he died the next day, to the prejudice of the service, and the great grief of the English. His men, who loved him greatly, were so enraged at the cowardly manner in which he was killed, that when the cannon came up and had made a breach sufficient for them to take the castle by storm, they put all within to the sword, without sparing man, woman, or child. The next attempt was to send out Lord ORMONDE with three thousand foot, five hundred horse, and five field pieces, to burn and destroy the houses and goods of the rebels, who had deserted the county of Kildare. When he came to Naas, which he had before saved from burning, he put a garrison into it, established a new sovereign and eight burghesses, and settled fifty families of despoiled English in the houses that had been forsaken. He then marched on according to his orders, desolating the country, and relieving several of their own castles, which had been blocked up by the rebels. To the same purpose he detached **SR.**

CHARLES I. T. LUCAS, COOTE, and GRENVILLE, with six troops of horse and dragoons to Burris, and other places. The enterprise was difficult and dangerous, on account of the length of the march, the badness of the roads thro' woods, bogs and defiles, and the troops of the rebels which lay dispersed about in those parts. Expedition and secrecy were the life and soul of the enterprize, and the only things which could ensure success. They took their way thro' the woods of Montrath, performed all the service for which they were sent; and returning thro' O DUN's country, whither the General had sent a body of five hundred foot and a troop of horse under Colonel MONCK to favour their passage over the Barrow, they rejoined the army; after a march of eight and forty hours, with only three hours rest, without any loss, except of some horses, which were rendered unserviceable thro' the greatness of the fatigue.

The rapid progress which was made under the Lord MOUNTGARRET and others on the borders of Munster, at the close of the last year, has been already related. Having advanced to Cashell in January, he was met there by Lord IKERRIN with above seven thousand men; not half armed indeed and very wretchedly accoutred, but their numbers which were increasing hourly, made amends for all other defects. They marched on then, meeting with no resistance, into the county of Corke; where they took the castle of Mallock, and where they were joined by others of that county: and tho' SR. W. ST. LEGER came up with them, yet viewing their forces from the top of an adjoining mountain and seeing their number, he did not think it prudent to attack them with his handful of men; and only desired a parly with Lord MOUNTGARRET, or some of his principal officers. Whilst this conference which was consented to, was carrying on between the parties, SR. WILLIAM got time to convey away from Mallow and other neighbouring places, such arms, ammunition, and goods, as he was most desirous to preserve; which seems to have been the only end of the conference, and indeed the only thing that he could do. It hath already been taken notice of, that when the insurrection broke out, the whole province of Munster had no more than a single troop of horse for its defence: and tho' the President had obtained, by reiterated complaints to the State, a commission to levy a regiment of foot and two troops of horse, yet having no arms for them, and the

the Parliament of England, to which he had applied, CHARLES I.
 having sent him none, he was in no condition to make
 head against the rebels. Lord MOUNTGARRET had A. 1642.
 therefore the whole country before him, and saw nothing
 to hinder his march to the several forts in that county;
 which, being very indifferently provided for a defence,
 he might easily become master of. His Lordship was
 very desirous however to make the attempt: but Lord
 ROCH, who was very powerful in those parts, and had
 a great body of men in that army, disputed his autho-
 rity, and insisted on having the command in that county
 himself. His claim was supported by the Gentlemen
 belonging to it; and the heats were carried to such a
 height, that the army separated, and did nothing of any
 consequence for a long time after. But when Lord OR-
 MONDE had executed his orders in the expedition just
 mentioned, and was returning with the army to Dublin,
 he found Lord MOUNTGARRET and the principal rebels
 of those parts, with a body of eight thousand foot and
 two or three troops of horse, at the bridge of Mageny,
 ready to dispute his passage. Lord ORMONDE, with SR.
 T. LUCAS, and some other General officers, escorted by
 two hundred horse, went out to reconnoitre their strength,
 and their encampment. His Lordship, at his return to
 his quarters, called a Council of war, to consider what
 was best to be done. Many of the horses were exceed-
 ingly harrassed, in their late, long, and difficult march;
 several of the soldiers were sick; their provision and am-
 munition were almost exhausted; they were greatly en-
 cumbered with a multitude of carriages and bread wag-
 gons, for their own subsistence, and a supply of the cas-
 tles which they had relieved; and the rebels were posted
 to a great advantage. Under all these circumstances, it
 was resolved in the Council of war, not to attack the ene-
 my; but if the rebels should oppose them in their march,
 not to bear such an insult, and to force a passage at
 all events. What with the men left in several gar-
 risons, and the great number sick, the army of fighting
 men did not amount to three thousand. Of these Lord
 ORMONDE made the best disposition he could: and they
 had scarce marched a mile in that order, when they dis-
 covered the rebels about three miles on their right, march-
 ing in haste to overtake them, or to seize a pass thro'
 which the King's army was obliged to march. As the
 rebels were not encumbered with any baggage, their
 army

CHARLES I. army marched faster than the other could possibly do ; and therefore the General detached **SR. T. LUCAS** with the greatest part of the horse to secure the pass. By the time that they had marched about two miles further, the scouts brought intelligence, that the rebel army were on the other side of a hill, which had concealed them, and were making great haste to the pass. **SR. T. LUCAS** however had secured it ; and facing about towards their van caused their whole army to halt. Each side upon this prepared for the engagement ; the left wing, or rather the left division of the rebels, both horse and foot, fled at the first charge given by **SR. T. LUCAS**, supported by **SR. R. GRENVILLE**, leaving many colours and arms behind them : the right division, in which was **LORD MOUNTGARRET** and most of the principal rebels, and in which they reposed their greatest confidence, exchanged some volleys when it was attacked by **LORD ORMONDE**, with his troop of volunteers, and three hundred foot under **SR. JOHN SHERLOCK**, and then retreated in some order till they reached the top of a hill near them ; where they broke at once, and run for their lives to a neighbouring bog, to which their other division had fled for safety. In this action, which is called the battle of Killrush, the English had not above twenty killed, and forty wounded : but above seven hundred rebels were slain on the field of battle ; amongst which were several Colonels and Gentlemen of distinction. The Chiefs of the rebel army fled different ways, all in no little distraction ; and their forces were quite dispirited and dispersed. After giving this defeat, the royal army being to pass just by **LORD CASTLEHAVEN**'s gates, some of the officers of his acquaintance galloped up, and informed him that **LORD ORMONDE** would be with him in half an hour. Upon this, he says, he bestirred himself ; “ and having some company with him, and two or three cooks and a good barn door and plenty of wines, they patched up a dinner ready to be set upon the table at his Lordship's coming in : but some that came with him turned it another way, magnifying the entertainment beyond what it was, and published thro' the army that it was a mighty feast prepared for **LORD MOUNTGARRET** and the rebels. This passed for current thro' the English army ; and he believes did him no small prejudice with the Lords Justices.” The army moved the next day to Naas where **SR. C. COOTE**

was

was left with his regiment and three hundred horse in gar- CHARLES I.
rison, and then returned to Dublin. But before we leave A. 1642.
the province of Leinster, it is proper to inform the reader, that about this time the Romish Clergy, who had hitherto—as the Lord Justices say—walked somewhat invisibly in these works of darkness, began openly to justify the rebellion. The titular primate, O NEIL, summoned all the bishops and clergy of his province to meet in Synod at Kells; where after making some constitutions against murderers, plunderers, and usurpers of other mens estates, they declared the rebellion to be a pious and lawful war, and exhorted all persons to join in the support of it. The titular bishop of Meath was a much honeste man. He neither obeyed the summons himself in person, nor by proxy; nor sent any excuse, nor admonished the dignitaries of the church to attend the Synod. He had laboured all that was in his power to keep the Nobility and Gentry of his diocese from engaging in the rebellion, which he declared to be unjust and groundless: and he had succeeded so well, particularly with the Earl of WESTMEATH, in whose house he lived, and with several of the Nugent family, that they had not embarked in it. To this the rebels imputed their miscarriage before Drogheda: and therefore it was thought necessary to censure a prelate who had done already so much mischief; and, in case he did not submit, to threaten him with a suspension.

Notwithstanding the most pressing applications possible of the Precedent of Munster to the Council at Dublin, and to the Parliament in England, for supplies of men, and money, and ammunition, nothing was sent to him, except Lord DUNGARVAN's troop, till the beginning of March; when SR. CHA. VAVASOUR with a thousand foot, and Lord INCHQUIN with horses and arms for two troops, arrived at Corke. His Lordship had procured him a small proportion of powder out of the King's stores before he quitted England: and had it not been for that supply, the whole provence, and all the towns in it, would have been lost, and the President must have quitted all, or perished. He had been ordered, as we have seen, to raise men, but he had no arms; nor had any money been sent him to raise or maintain them afterwards. The forces which now came over had brought him no arms, ammunition, nor money, of all which he stood in extreme need.

CHARLES I. need ; so much care did the English Parliament take of the war in Ireland, after they had had the management of it for five months. Nay the troops then sent over did not bring any money for their own subsistence ; the Parliament intending they should be maintained by the province, though the greatest part of it was then in rebellion, and vast numbers of the English themselves had been so plundered that they had not bread to eat. The succour of men indeed in one respect came very seasonably : for Lord MUSKERY soon after joined the rebels, and the difference being compromised between the rival Lords, G. BARRY was declared their general ; and they joined all their forces to subdue the rest of the country. But the President, after putting the tenable places into the best posture of defence he could, was forced to shut himself up in Corke ; forrily provided to sustain a siege, and surrounded by a great number of enemies, who resolved to starve him if they could not take the place by treachery or assault. To this purpose, Lord MUSKERY besieged him on the north side of the city ; and had it not been for Lord ORMONDE's success at the battle of Killrush, who defeated them, the Tipperary, and Lord ROCHE's forces were to have joined, to beleaguer him on the south. But having thus been shut up above a month, Lord INCHIQIN sallied out with three hundred musketeers, and two troops of horse, in order to dislodge a party who had advanced almost up to the walls ; and having routed that party and drove them upon their army, the musketeers followed their blow so effectually, that not above two hundred of the whole army made good their retreat. The President however was in no condition to improve the victory ; and if he had not borrowed four thousand pounds, and taken as much more by force, which was going to be shipped for England—and was not repaid till after the restoration—all his forces would have disbanded. He had no artillery, and but one engineer ; he wanted provision and ammunition, and the soldiers were almost naked for want of clothes. Oppressed with these difficulties, he was neither able to take the field, nor to relieve the fort of Limerick which had been for some time besieged. Hearing however that Lord MUSKERY, who had got his forces again together, was marching thither, he was resolved to oppose him in the best manner he could. When the two armies met, and the President was preparing to begin the attack, a trumpet

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trumpet brought a messenger from Lord MUSKERY—sup-
posed to be Mr. WALSH the lawyer—who desired to speak
with SR. W. ST. LEGER, on a business of the utmost
consequence. The President had with him the Earl of
BARRYMORE, son-in-law, and the Lords KINELMEAKY,
and BROGHILL, sons of the Earl of CORKE; and having
given notice to the trumpet that the messenger might ap-
proach, WALSH told the Lord President that his business
was with him alone. SR. WILLIAM, and the Lords with
him, who all knew WALSH, began to reproach him;
and expressed great surprize that a man of his education
and learning should be so mad as to join with the rebels.
To this he replied they were no rebels; as he would soon
convince them, if he might be allowed to speak privately
with the President. SR. WILLIAM, being a man of
great intrepidity, was going aside with him; but the
Lords, not thinking it safe that their general should be
in the power of an enemy, desired WALSH to say what
he had to deliver in their presence; and on his refusing
to do this, it was agreed that he might speak to the Presi-
dent out of ear-shot, but that a party of men should be on
each side of them for his guard. When they were thus
drawn aside, he told the President in few words, that he
would do well to decline fighting against them, because
Lord MUSKERY had a commission from the King to raise
men to assist him in all extremities; and that, if he might
have a safe conduct, he would bring the commission under
the great seal and shew him at his own house the next
morning. The President was infinitely surpris'd at this
message; and assuring WALSH he should have a safe
conduct, if he brought the commission, dismissed him.
When he imparted it to the Lords, they were all struck
with astonishment; but on a moment's recollection,
Lord BROGHILL observed it must be a cheat, and that
the King would never grant a commission to those, who
in his proclamation he had declared to be rebels. He
desired therefore that SR. WILLIAM would examine the
commission narrowly, if it was brought, of which he
doubted; taking it only for a stratagem to amuse them
while Lord MUSKERY passed by. They agreed however
to expect WALSH at the President's house, which was
near at hand, and in the mean time encamped their sol-
diers. At the return of the trumpet, the rebel army also
was drawn off; and the next day, WALSH was conducted
in the same manner again to SR. WILLIAM's, where he
produced

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CHARLES I. produced a large parchment, containing a commission in form to Lord MUSKERY to raise four thousand men, with the great seal affixed. When the President had read it over, he dismissed WALSH; and returning to the Lords, assured them there was a commission in due form, and that he would dismiss his men, and stir no more in this business; for he would die before he would be a rebel: upon which they withdrew to their several houses. The rebels had had so much success with the other commission, pretended to by SR. PH. O NEIL, that they were willing to try it in this instance, to save their army from being beaten: And the same author adds to the account already related, that Lord BROGHILL—from whom he had it—being one day after the restoration alone with Lord MUSKERY, and finding him in a pleasant humour, asked him how the rebels obtained that commission, which they shewed to SR. W. ST. LEGER under the great seal. His Lordship told him very freely, that it was a forged commission drawn up by WALSH, who having a writing to which the Great Seal was fixed, one of the company very dexterously took off the sealed wax from the label of that writing, and fixed it to the label of the forged commission; and that it would have been impossible to have held their people together without this device.—We must now turn and see what was doing in the province of Conaught.

It hath already been observed, that by the care of Lord RANELAGH the President, and the extraordinary vigilance of Lord CLANRICARDE, the Governor of the county and town of Galway, there had been no acts of hostility in those parts, till after the defection of the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale. The county of Mayo then rose in arms, seized on Lord DILLON's house, who was gone to England, and pillaged all the English thereabouts. Lord MAYO had raised some companies for the security of the country; but having no arms to put in their hands he was too weak to make head against the rebels. The county of Roscommon was also so generally ill-affected, that the President, who had only one troop of horse and two companies of foot for the defence of the whole province, was reduced to great difficulties. One of the castles of Lord CLANRICARDE was surprised by one of his own tenants, whom he had entrusted with a company of fifty men; and though his Lordship was desirous to recover that castle, yet he could not venture with the
small

small strength he had to march into so remote a corner of the country. The whole force he had at first was an old company of fifty men, which the Ministry had given him leave to make up an hundred: and though he had prevailed with the Gentlemen of the County, to raise two troops of horse and to maintain them at their own expence, yet they were miserably armed, and much too few for their defence. But however his care and activity had been so effectual, that the county had been preserved free from any ravage or commotion, till an unhappy difference between the town and fort of Galway had like to have put the whole into a flame. The fort was commanded by Captain WILLOUGBY, son to SR. FRANCIS Governor of Dublin castle; but without his father's experience, or good temper. Being young and violent, and trusting perhaps to his interest, he had treated the townsmen, who on their side were proud and haughty, with too little management; putting some of them in prison, and setting a guard of musketeers on their goods in ships. Hence arose many jealousies and quarrels between them; and the town having furnished the fort with four months provisions at the beginning of the insurrection, refused now to furnish any more without ready money. Lord CLANRICARDE interposed, and pieced up their quarrel for some time, procuring money and provision for the fort: but soon after, it broke out more violently than before, Captain WILLOUGBY firing great and small shot into the town, and the inhabitants imprisoning some of the soldiers of the fort. Upon this his Lordship desired SR. R. BLAKE, who had great interest in both places, to try to make up this breach; which he did with good success: but so much rancour remained between them, on account of the Captain's violence and rashness, that his Lordship was obliged to go thither, and stay several days, before he could make a thorough reconciliation between the town and the fort. Many of Lord CLANRICARDE's letters at this time are full of complaints of the little strength he had, to do service to others, or to preserve himself from danger; and pressing the administration to supply him in such a manner, as would enable him to act according to his zeal for the public good. But though they made, he says, "a formal shew of favour and regard, yet they had but little intention to repose any trust or confidence in him, or to afford him any kind of supply; as was apparent by their telling him, that they would send him powder,

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der, match, and lead, if they knew how to send them, so as they might not be intercepted by the rebels, when at that very time, and frequently before, they sent the same to Captain WILLOUGBY by sea, without any direction to him to supply his Lordship with them; and probably the Captain's suspicion was grounded on the cautions he received from Dublin." In short, the conduct of the administration towards Lord CLANRICARDE, to whose zeal, interest, and indefatigable application, the preservation of the fort and town of Galway, and the peaceableness of the county, were entirely owing, admits of no excuse: and in another part of his memoirs at this time he says, "that by several observations he had cause to mistrust, that the State did not much care if the government there were destroyed; or he himself forced into action against it."

As much care and pains as this Lord had taken, to secure a good understanding and agreement between the town and fort of Galway, upon which the public service in the county did in a good measure depend, yet all his endeavours were in a few days entirely frustrated. Some of the Merchants and young men of the town, notwithstanding their great professions of loyalty, and of a desire of preserving harmony with the fort, taking advantage of the absence of the Captain of a ship and some of his men, and disguising themselves like boatmen that used to come for salt, attacked the rest of the crew that were in the ship in the harbour, which had a dozen pieces of ordnance, about as many muskets, and seven or eight barrels of powder: and though the pretence was that they wanted it for their own defence, yet they killed the mate, and one more common sailor, wounding several others, disarmed all the English in the town, secured the ship, and entered into an oath of association to bear allegiance to the King, but to avow and maintain the Roman Catholic religion, and to defend all those who should join in that union. Upon this, Captain WILLOUGBY on his part burned the suburbs next the fort: on the other hand, the townsmen bestirred themselves in fortifying the town, in raising a battery against the fort, and blocking it up on all sides in order to starve it. A ship arriving from England at that time, with Lord CLANRICARDE's own armour, with arms for thirty horse, and with some wine, and clothes, his Lordship sent his Gentleman to Galway to fetch them away; but

but so much madness and confusion reigned in the place, CHARLES I.
 that it was not without great difficulty that he and the
 other servants with him got safe away, with a few of the A. 1642.
 pistols and carbines, but could not bring away his Lord-
 ship's armour. The reader will easily imagine, that a
 man of Lord CLANRICARDE's zeal and activity, when
 such a dispute happened between a fort, and town of
 which he was governor, and the harmony whereof he
 had laboured to promote, was not idle. He sent an hun-
 dred and forty carriages of provisions into the fort; he
 raised all the force he could in the county, to the number
 of seven hundred foot and near two hundred horse; and
 placing strong garrisons in his castles round about the town
 which commanded the river, he scoured the plains with his
 horse, and prevented any provisions being brought to
 market. Thus the design of reducing the fort by famine
 was returned upon the inhabitants: being by this means
 brought to reason, he entered into a treaty with them for
 a cessation of arms for two months, as the best expedient
 then in his power. But after wasting ten days in a fruit-
 less negotiation, his Lordship dissolved the treaty: and
 as soon as he had sent away his dispatches for that pur-
 pose, a man of war of thirty guns under Captain ASHLY
 arrived in the bay of Galway, with a plentiful supply of
 ammunition for the fort. Upon this his Lordship ad-
 vanced with his forces before the town; and going into
 the fort and saluting them with three and thirty cannon
 shot, sent a trumpet with a summons to surrender. See-
 ing him thus in earnest, and beginning to be streightened
 for want of provisions, the inhabitants sent an agreement
 to his propositions: but Lord CLANRICARDE would then
 accept of nothing less than an absolute submission till the
 King's pleasure was known; with which they thought
 proper to comply. They laid down their arms, they sent
 away their rebel garrison, they agreed to dismantle their
 new fortifications, to sell and issue out no ammunition nor
 arms without his Lordship's warrant, and to deliver all
 in their possession then to the commissioners which he ap-
 pointed; and for the performance of these conditions,
 they put two lawyers, and a merchant, into his hands as
 hostages. In this manner did Lord CLANRICARDE re-
 duce one of the strongest and most important towns in the
 kingdom, to the surprize of every body, and his own
 honour, without any other aid from the State than what

CHARLES I. has been mentioned, and in a manner without any blood shed: when many parts of the county were in action;

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when the neighbouring counties were overrun with rebels, and threatening every day to fall upon him. The success of the undertaking, great as it was, even with all his interest and authority, was more extraordinary, because two or three days before the submission, a ship loaded with arms, ammunition, and corn, had put into a neighbouring creek, and conveyed the powder to Galway. For this eminent service, Lord CLANRICARDE had the thanks of young **SR. C. COOTE**, who commanded in a neighbouring garrison, and of the President of the Province; acknowledging the happy effects and importance of it to the kingdom. But the Justices and Council, though they thank him for relieving the fort at Galway, yet they tell him, "that if they had been consulted, they should not have admitted of his descending to make such an agreement as he had made with the rebels; wherein to deal clearly with his Lordship, there were sundry particulars much to be disliked in some respects." Lord CLANRICARDE had wrote them word, that resolutions had been taken to burn and destroy all behind him by the rebels in the county of Mayo, and to inclose his small forces between them and those before the fort; and that it was difficult, next to a degree of impossibility, to keep his own followers at a siege who disliked the quarrel with the town, with many other particulars that made his agreement with them necessary; and it would have been madness in the Ministers to have controlled him, and to take the pacification out of his hands. But the point which galled these honest Governors, was his Lordship's receiving a submission, and granting his protection, though it was only till the King's pleasure should be known, to the town of Galway: and they sent him express orders, "to receive no more submissions from any rebels whatever, but to prosecute them with fire and sword." Such indeed was the tenour of all their orders; though they knew—for they own it in their letters—that the soldiers in executing these orders, murdered all persons that came in their way promiscuously, "not sparing the women, and sometimes not the children."

The President, and Lord CLANRICARDE, saw the evil policy of these orders, and very justly dreaded their effects: and the former tells his Lordship, in a letter contained

taught in his memoirs; "that he should presume to crave leave to swerve from directions of such pernicious consequence; Lord ORMONDE having informed him that they were the advice of some particular persons in the Council, to which he had always been averse; and to which he himself, with GOD's favour, shall also be, as his actions would demonstrate." These were directions that not only tended to make those rebels already in arms merciless and desperate, but tended also to persuade others of them, that an utter extirpation of all their nation and religion was resolved upon. The treatment which Lord CLANRICARDE met with from the Ministry; the orders which he received, so contrary to his judgment; and his humane and benevolent temper; the discontent and uneasiness of his best and nearest friends, who had had protections from the State at his request, and yet had been plundered, and their houses and effects destroyed by the royal army; the damage which he had himself sustained in that respect; and the threatening of the rebels, that if he persisted in his opposition, they would fall upon him; these were circumstances, which would have tempted a man of less zeal, and honour, and goodness of heart than he had, to remain at least inactive. But he was unalterable in his affection for the good of his country; and though he had done much already, he had a great deal more to do.—What a lesson of rebuke is the conduct of this Nobleman to the patriots of our days! Who if they are dismissed from an employment, or fail of procuring one they solicit, immediately set themselves upon traversing the measures of Government; and right or wrong, be they of advantage or be they pernicious to their country, endeavour all that is in their power to overturn them. The reader hath seen already many discouragements to Lord CLANRICARDE from the Administration at Dublin; many others might be mentioned. Let it suffice however only to add, that from the beginning of the rebellion, he had desired with much earnestness both here and there, that he might be honoured only with the command of a troop of horse; and this small gratification, so necessary to the public service, as well as to his private inclination, with all his application, and notwithstanding he was laying out all his time, his estate, and money, sacrificing his ease, domestic comfort, and acting against his principles of religion, he could not obtain. But what

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CHARLES I. was his Lordship's behaviour upon this occasion? Did he immediately resign his government of Galway, oppose the measures of the Administration, endeavour to distress them by throwing difficulties in their way, and by propagating reports of falshood and calumny, or did he even remain inactive, fullen, and indifferent as to what became of his country, since his own ambition, or vanity, or interest, was not gratified? No, nothing like it. He still continued, with the same zeal and activity, expence and labour, to promote the public good: and though a man of as high a spirit, as jealous of his honour, and of as quick a sensibility of ill usage as ever was born, he carried on the same friendly correspondence with the Administration, and paid the same obedience to their orders, whether he approved them or not, as tho' he had been used by them ever so well, and they had not denied him any thing. If the PATRIOTS of the days in which we have lived, were to lay their hands upon their hearts, and honestly to ask themselves whether they would have acted the same part, it would be very much to their honour—more I doubt than would be believed—if they could answer, that they would.

Had it not been for the constant unremitted care, and the powerful interest, of the Earl of CLANRICARDE in this business of Galway, the whole province of Conaught would have been endangered, if it had not been possessed, by the rebels. For in the county of Mayo, they were very powerful, and had done much mischief: and if his Lordship had delayed but a few days longer his agreement with the town of Galway, they would have been upon his back; and with the few forces that he had he must have been destroyed between them. Lord MAYO, it is true, had assembled all his dependants to oppose their progress: but by two of his letters to Lord CLANRICARDE at this time, he was certainly not very zealous, and may be said to have been wavering in his resolution; and the rebels had got possession of most of the castles and fortresses in the county. The adjoining county of Sligo was entirely under their command; and except a few castles which held out, and these too they had besieged, they were masters of the county of Roscommon. In this situation was the affair of the rebellion at the end of May in the province of Conaught. Let us now turn to see what had been doing in Ulster.

It

It hath already been observed, that the English Parliament had agreed with the Scotch Commissioners sent up for that purpose—upon terms dishonourable enough to England, and detrimental to the public service in Ireland—for the immediate transportation of twenty-five hundred men, which they had ready in Scotland, into the province of Ulster. The condition of the rebels in the Southern part of that province, after they had raised the blockade at Drogheda, hath also been set forth. Notwithstanding the advantageous terms which had been granted to the Scots for the immediate supply of the Northern part of it, and that this contract was made in the last week of January, yet it was the middle of April before General MONROE landed with the men at Carrickfergus. SR. H. TITCHBORNE had already driven the rebels to Newry; to which place he would have pursued them, if he had had strength enough to spare men to garrison the place when he should have taken it. But soon after the landing of the Scots, and being joined by Lord CONWAY and Colonel CHICHESTER with eighteen hundred foot and seven troops of horse and dragoons, they marched for Newry; which the enemy quitting on their approach, they entered, and the castle surrendered without any resistance. The same submission was made the next day at Carlingford castle to SR. H. TITCHBORNE; who left a few men to secure it, and went on to confer with the Scotch General, and to inform him of the state of the province, and of the condition of the rebels in it. They were indeed in a terrible consternation at the approach of this army, and with good reason; being destitute of every thing necessary for their defence. The principal rebels in the county of Down, had quitted their seats, and fled with great precipitation. SR. P. O NEIL, dreading the further advance of the army, had burned and deserted Ardmagh, given up Dungannon, and retired to Charlemount—which, tho' a fortress almost impregnable, was at that time indefensible for want of powder—and his followers had dispersed themselves and fled into the fastnesses of Tyrone. There was then a royal army in Ulster of twelve thousand foot, besides a considerable body of horse; a strength, says SR. H. TITCHBORNE, “fit for a greater employment, and of more importance than the clearing of Ulster was likely to be, if the benefit of time were speedily embraced.” It was indeed a strength sufficient to reduce the whole province, and to assist the government in other parts of the

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kingdom, where the rebels were more formidable than there. This was SR. HENRY's opinion ; and he pressed very strenuously to pursue the rebels with vigour, before they had time to recover their spirits, or to procure arms and ammunition from foreign parts. But MONROE had either instructions or inclinations of another tendency : and therefore after putting about sixty men, two priests, and eighteen women, to death at Newry, and leaving a garrison of three hundred men there under one of his own Lieutenant Colonels, he returned with the army to Carrickfergus. In his march back he wasted the country, and took, besides other effects, a prey of four thousand cattle : but the night before they were to be divided between the armies, the Scots carried them all off, to the great discontent of the English troops, who began to mutiny, and never afterwards cared to march with such a band of thieves. This was the first fruits of that dishonourable treaty made by the English Parliament with the Scots, the inconvenience of which was foreseen by the King ; by which treaty the Scotch officers were to be accountable for their proceedings only to his Majesty, and the Parliament of England. In short the Scotch General had as little honour as the banditti which he commanded. After a short stay at Carrickfergus, employed in sending away their booty to Scotland, he marched his army into the county of ANTRIM ; where he burned a town belonging to the Earl of that title, wasted his lands, and made another prey of five thousand cows. The Earl of ANTRIM had been but a short time in that country ; but he had found means to supply the town of Colerain, which had been blocked up by the Irish, and reduced to great extremities, with an hundred head of cattle, and sixty loads of corn, together with other provisions, at his own expence. As soon as MONROE arrived in the country, the Earl sent him an offer of his service, in order to assist him in securing the public peace ; in which, on account of his great estate in those parts, his Lordship was highly interested. The General made him a visit at Dunlacy, a strong castle by the sea side in which he lived ; where Lord ANTRIM received him with great pleasure, and entertained him with great magnificence. But no sooner was the entertainment over, than the Scot, seizing the castle, made the Earl a prisoner in it, and left a garrison with a Lieutenant Colonel to take care of both. He continued in this country, roving up and

and down with his army for the sake of plunder, but without the least attempt against the rebels, for two months; who had leisure given them by this negligence to gather again in a body.

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It is time now to look toward Dublin; which the reader may remember we left on the return of Lord ORMOND with the army from the battle of Killrush. The Ministers had received notice from the King at this time, of his intention to go into Ireland to settle the peace of the kingdom, and to chastize the rebels; at which they were greatly alarmed. For but a few days before, they had written to the Speaker of the House of Commons, "that considering the Parliament of England had with great wisdom and piety interposed towards their deliverance from the bloody hands of the rebels, they thought it necessary in that respect so to order their councils, that their proceedings in that great work might consist with the Parliaments purposes and resolutions, for his Majesty, and his kingdom of Ireland." They knew that the King's coming over would not only defeat the purposes of the Parliament, which was not to put an end to a rebellion that was so serviceable to their views, but they likewise knew that their own authority would be determined by it, their own measures defeated, and as they were conscious of much infidelity to the King, and of illegal arbitrary conduct towards his subjects, that they should be certainly dismissed with ignominy, if not with punishment. No wonder therefore that they were alarmed at this resolution, and that they used all their art to prevent it. They represented in a letter to Secretary NICHOLAS, that the rebels were exceedingly strong, their forces very numerous, and masters of the field; that thro' the inclemency of the winter, the want of clothes, food, shoes, medicines, and pay, so many of the royal army were incapable of service, that they had not above six thousand effective men fit for fighting, including those that must necessarily be kept in garrison, which were two thirds of that number. In short they made so doleful a representation of their condition, and especially of their great want of money, as should convince the King, that unless he was enabled to supply all the defects they had set forth—which they knew he could not be—it was in vain for him to come over, or to do any service if he did come. Thus by the craft of these Ministers, and by the English Parliament's absolutely interdicting the King's intention—as

CHARLES I. the reader will see in its proper place—here was another fair opportunity lost of putting an end to the rebellion, and of restoring the peace of Ireland. If the Lords Justices did not act in this matter by the express direction, yet it is plain enough it was with the concurrence, of that faction which governed then in the English Parliament. Their endeavours indeed were so very acceptable to that body, as that they thought themselves entitled to some recompence : and accordingly in a private letter of their own, to the Speaker, exclusive of the rest of the Council, in a few days after their letter to the Secretary above mentioned, they besought the Commons to assist them with “ a grant of some competent proportion of the rebels lands.” Here the reader will find the key that unlocks the whole secret of their iniquitous practices : and here we find the motives to the orders they gave, for receiving no submissions ; for issuing no proclamations of pardon at first, as the Parliament had suggested ; and in short for all their backwardness in putting an end to the rebellion, of which several opportunities offered ; and consequently for their sacrificing the peace and happiness of their country, and the lives of thousands of their fellow subjects.

Among all the groundless pretences for bills of indictment of high treason at this time at Dublin, sure none could equal that which was found against Lord CASTLEHAVEN. The reader will remember what was said of him before in this book, from the memoirs which he published after the restoration. It hath been already said, that he had offered his services to the Ministers at the breaking out of this rebellion, and had been rejected on account of his religion ; that he had desired a pass into England that he might attend the Parliament there, of which he was a Peer, which had been refused ; and that he was ordered home to his House in the country, where he did all the service in his power to the distressed English. But now on the mere pretence that a lame boy, blind of one eye, kept by his Lordship out of charity to whip the dogs away, had been instrumental to a servant of Lord ANTRIM’s being taken by the rebels, Lord CASTLEHAVEN was indicted of high treason. Colonel TOUCHET, his brother, being then at Dublin where the bill was found, as soon as he heard of it, went and complained to the Lords Justices of this ill usage : but however, he said, he would go and fetch his Lordship up, if they would assign him a party of horse for a convoy ; which they

they refusing, he went accompanied with some of his friends. The Earl was surpris'd, but came immediately with them; and as soon as he arriv'd at Dublin, address'd himself to Lord ORMONDE, whilst his brother went to the Council to inform them that Lord CASTLEHAVEN was there. Their answer was, that they could say nothing to it till his Lordship appear'd before them; and when he wait'd at the castle, for that purpose, they committed him, without calling him in, to the custody of one of the Sheriffs of Dublin. After the many extraordinary things that we have seen were done by this Administration, we shall not wonder at this treatment of a Peer of England, as well as of that kingdom. We must leave him a prisoner with the Sheriff for a time, and turn to other affairs.

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A relation hath been already made of a provincial synod summoned by the titular Primate for the province of Ardmagh. To this it was thought proper to add a general synod of all the Popish Bishops and Clergy of Ireland; which met in May at Kilkenny. Three of the titular Archbishops, six other Bishops, the proxies of five more, besides Vicars general, and other dignitaries, were present at this synod; and all agreed in declaring the war for the defence of the Catholic religion, and the maintenance of the prerogative and royal rights of the King and Queen, to be just and lawful. Among other constitutions, they order'd an exact register to be kept in each province, of the robberies, burnings, murders, and cruelties committed by the Protestant forces; and pass'd censures of excommunication upon such of their own people, as should be guilty of any of those outrages; or should proceed out of some particular and unjust title, covetousness, cruelty, revenge, or hatred, or any such unlawful private intentions. They provided that no distinction should be made of Old and New Irish; that all who had taken arms should be united by a common oath of association; that whosoever should refuse to take the path, or should remain neuters, or should assist the enemy with victuals, arms, advice, or intelligence, should be communicated, and deemed enemies of their country. They resolv'd also to send ambassadors to the Kings of France and Spain, to the Emperor and the Pope, in behalf of the whole kingdom. There are many other articles relating to the regulations of their several Councils, their soldiers, prisoners, and other subordinate affairs;

CHARLES says; but too tedious and uninteresting to require a place. It must be observed that all these were the acts and ordinances purely of the Roman Catholick Clergy of Ireland, represented in a general synod: And therefore I suppose it will be allowed on all sides, that whatever principles are found here, or whatever practices are here allowed of, may with great truth and impartiality be charged on the Catholick religion: but that whatever proceedings are here condemned, are to be placed to the account of the follies and vices of particular people, and cannot fairly be charged on the Roman Faith. Here then both the Protestants and Papists must join issue; as little soever as it may suit with the prejudices and the passions of either.

I shall pass by the extreme treachery of entering into a solemn general association, in order to carry on a war against the King's authority, against his interest, and against his positive command, as a means to preserve his rights, his person, or prerogative. This is too glaring to be admitted by a man of common sense, unless his understanding is perverted, by interest, or by passion. But this treachery, gross as it is, was the only refuge they had to cover their want of allegiance and fidelity to the powers that were: and when the other article is considered, of sending an embassy to the Pope, and foreign Princes, it shews us that it is the grand overruling principle of the Catholic Faith, which directs the whole system, that nothing is to stand in competition with the interest of that religion, be it the obedience due to Princes, under the protection of whose laws the professors of it live, or any other ties whatever. Hence the prosecution of those they deem Hereticks, in order to compel them to embrace this religion, when they have it in their power, is derived. If this is not the first principle of the Roman policy, to which all other considerations are to be subservient, then the acts and constitutions of this general synod are without any meaning. Well therefore doth it become the wisdom of every Protestant State in Europe, to admit to no place of trust, or power, or public counsel, any member of the Church of Rome: but this security being taken, the civil Magistrate had nothing further to do with opinion; and the private exercise of their religion, should be allowed without disturbance. The Papists ought to submit quietly, and with-

without uneasiness to the former; and the Protestants ought not to repine at, or infringe the latter. But tho' it appears by these acts of the Clergy, that the allegiance of Roman Catholicks to their natural Sovereign, is ON PRINCIPLE to be subservient always to their religion, and can never therefore be depended on, where these interests clash or interfere, yet the robberies, murders, and barbarities committed by the Irish in this rebellion, and not in open war, are very severely censured. How weak, how uncharitable, and how unjust then is it in those, who charge such horrid impieties on the principles of the Roman religion, as were merely owing to the accursed hellish disposition of the particular persons who gave a loose to them? The Protestants, I am sure, would take it ill, and very justly, if the barbarities of SR. C. COOTE, and SR. FRED. HAMILTON, were fastened on their religion; and why then should they charge those of which SR. P. O NEIL and others were guilty, on the principles of the Romish church, which hath disclaimed them? It is to be hoped that these considerations may have a good effect on the passions and prejudices of both sides. They may be too candid and impartial to please the ignorant and the bigotted; but they will teach principles and practices more agreeable to Christianity, than those which prevailed at that time, and which we now so much lament; and may therefore prevent such for the future.

In a short time after Lord ORMONDE returned with the army, Lord LISLE, son of the Lord Lieutenant, landed at Dublin with his regiment of horse, and another of dragoons, making nine hundred men. The latter were sent immediately to possess the country between Drogheda and Dundalk, and the other were kept about Dublin. Lady OFFALY had been besieged for several months in her castle in the King's county, which she had defended with surprising spirit and gallantry: but being now reduced to great extremities, the Council thought it high time to relieve her. Lord LISLE was complimented with the command of the party destined to that service, which they performed with ease; and having supplied the castle with all necessaries, the old Lady chose to continue in it. The same assistance was given to Castle-Jordan, burning all the country in their march; and tho' four of the Lords of the Pale were in the town of Trim, yet they quitted it on the approach of the detachment. They left indeed three or four hundred men to defend it,

but

CHARLES I.
A. 1648.

CHARLES I. but they were soon obliged to surrender. The place was of some consequence being situated on the Boyne, about
 A. 1642. twenty miles from Dublin; very convenient for annoying the rebels in the counties of Cavan and Westmeath, and in the best country in Ireland for horse service. The General officers employed in the expedition, were of opinion it should be held by a garrison, and that it might be made one of the strongest towns in the kingdom. Lord LISLE therefore wrote to the Lords Justices to send him three troops of horse and twelve hundred foot, that he might push his conquests on that side. But a great debate arose in the Council upon that letter: some were even for recalling him with the troops he had already, instead of sending above twice as many more. They were afraid of trusting so young and unexperienced a commander with such a body of forces; but they were afraid too of disobliging him on account of his father. Upon the whole therefore it was resolved, to send the twelve hundred foot and one troop of horse to reinforce the party at Trim; but to send orders with them not to make inroads into Cavan, or the country thereabouts. But the day before they were to march, Lord LISLE came to Dublin to hasten them away; and when he understood the orders that were to accompany them, the Council easily prevailed with him to stay behind. The command then devolved on SR. C. COOTE; but the reinforcement was so long delayed, and the party was so weakened by Lord LISLE's and another convoy to Dublin, that the rebels attacked the town of Trim with three thousand men: the garrison however being prepared for them, they were beaten off with loss; and SR. C. COOTE, sallying out with a party of horse to improve the success, was shot dead in the field; but whether by the enemy, or one of his own troopers, it seems was wholly uncertain. On receiving this intelligence, the Council sent orders to SR. R. GRENVILLE, next in command, to spoil and kill all the rebels on this side the Boyne, and then on the other side, as far as he could go in a day and a night; but not to attempt any places, unless by surprisal, nor to leave any garrison, if they should be taken. The reader cannot avoid observing the extreme caution used by the Ministers, against an enemy that was always vanquished: a caution natural enough too old men not versed in military expeditions, the success of which often depends on accidents not to be foreseen, and at the moment when they happen may be seized with
 advan-

advantage. But however at this time, there were reasons of another sort ; which made this caution against the consequences of ill success not at all improper. The English forces that had been sent over did not well agree with the old or new army in Ireland ; tho' all of them Protestants, and for the most part English. An impertinent kind of vanity in respect to their own country, and too great a contempt for the other—to which the people of England are at all times too much addicted—had put the English forces upon upbraiding the other, in-reproachful language, with the rebellion of their countrymen, which had produced frequent quarrels between them ; and for want of pay, it was impossible to exact a proper discipline. On the day before the reinforcement marched to Trim, some of the Captains, who were ordered to go upon that service, repaired to the castle whilst the Council were sitting ; and, requiring an audience, told the board very bluntly, that they were not able themselves to march for want of money, and that the men refused absolutely to stir from Dublin without their pay, and without being furnished with shoes and stockings. Had this been only the resolution of a few, the Government might safely have punished them with severity, as a terror to others : but the common men of the army were generally thus disposed ; which made the Council dread a mutiny every moment. They had no money, and none they could borrow ; but the greatest part of a thousand pounds which had been collected in England, as a charitable relief for the poor ruined Protestants, being not then issued, they were obliged to use that money to give some content to the officers ; who were even then with difficulty prevailed on to march. But the common soldiers still refused : and one of them persisted in so high a tone, and with such seditious insolent expressions, that they were obliged to give orders for hanging him at the head of the ranks, when they were drawn out to march to Trim. These orders had nearly occasioned a general mutiny : they all exclaimed aloud for their pay ; and some of them were attempting to rescue their comrade from the gallows. If the officers had not restrained them, by respiting the execution till they had sent to the Lords Justices, a general mutiny probably would have ensued. This saved themselves, as well as the man ; the Ministers yielded to his pardon, and then the detachment marched away. But those that remained

CHAPTER I. remained at Dublin, were in such distress for want of money, that it was with great difficulty they were kept from plundering the city.

A. 1642.

RENEWED.

Tho' very little was done in England at this time for the relief of Ireland, to which the Parliament had made such great pretences, yet it is proper the reader should be acquainted what that little was. We left England at the end of March, when an act was passed for shutting the forfeited estates in Ireland, to those who would subscribe their money for the reduction of it: and tho' the King in his then circumstances could not refuse this act, yet it put the power over the money in the Parliament, who took care that very little of it went to Ireland; and it also deprived the King of his prerogative, in rewarding those who had served him well, or in pardoning such as had been unwarily drawn in, and forcibly driven to join the rebels. In the beginning of April, the King sent a message to the Parliament, that "being grieved at the very soul for the calamities of his good subjects of Ireland, and being most tenderly sensible of the false and scandalous reports dispersed among the people concerning the rebellion there, he had firmly, resolved to go thither with all convenient speed: and as he undertook it for no other end, than the defence of God's true religion, and his distressed subjects—to the truth of which he called God to witness—so he assures them, that he will never consent, upon any pretence, to a toleration of the Popish profession there, or the abolition of the laws now in force against Popish recusants in that kingdom. Towards this work, he tells them, that he intended to raise immediately by his commissions, in the counties bordering upon Chester, a guard for his own person when he should come into Ireland, consisting of two thousand foot and two hundred horse; to be armed at Chester from his magazine at Hull, where all the officers and soldiers should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The charge of raising and paying these forces, his Majesty desired the Parliament would undertake; but if their pay was found too great a burden for his subjects, he was willing, by the advice of his Parliament, to sell or pawn any of his parks, lands, or houses, towards the supplies of the service of Ireland." The Parliament were extremely discomposed at this message; and the rather because they durst not own their real objection. Their objection was, that the management of the war in Ireland would be there-

thereby taken out of their hands, and consequently would deprive them of a great deal of power over men and money; which, tho' raised for the service of Ireland, they intended to employ to another purpose. Besides, it was reasonable to suppose, that the King would probably recover in a short time one entire kingdom to his obedience, by which he might be able to preserve the peace of the other two. When the true reason of a measure is not to be owned, other reasons, however flimsy or fallacious, are to be substituted in its room. Thus among several reasons which they offered to the King, in answer to this message, for his not going to Ireland, the two Houses tell him, "that it will exceedingly encourage the rebels, who do generally declare that his Majesty doth countenance their proceedings, and that this insurrection was undertaken by his commission; especially there appearing less necessity of his Majesty's going thither at that time, by reason of the manifold successes which God had given against them." I presume Bodies of men never take shame, and are out of countenance, when they make use of weak and impudent pretences to impose on the public understanding. But be this as it may in other cases—of which there are a thousand instances in our history—in the case before us, the Parliament must have had a consummate assurance, to endeavour to make the King and the people believe, that his going over to Ireland to be at the head of his army in the field against the rebels, would encourage them, and confirm the report of their acting by his commission: and as to the successes which had been given against them, the reader hath seen an account from the Lords Justices to the King, when they dissuade his coming over, directly contradictory to this representation. The Parliament were resolved however that the King should not go; and therefore after giving some other absurd and shallow reasons for that resolution, they proceed to tell him plainly, "that they would not consent to the raising or payment of any levies, but such as should be employed and governed by their direction; and if any such levies were made as they did not agree to, they should interpret them to be raised to the terror of the people, and should apply the authority of Parliament to suppress them." The King was extremely irritated with this answer; "and appealed to all his good subjects and the whole world, whether the reasons alledged in it were

CHARLES
A. 1642.

RUSHWORTH.

of

CHARLES. of weight to satisfy his understanding, or the counsel presented to dissuade him were full of that duty as was like to prevail over his affections." He reminds them that the officers of several regiments, whom they had a long time allowed entertainment for that service, had not raised any supply or succour for it; that many troops of horse had long lain near Chester untransported; that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on whom he relied principally for the conduct of affairs there, was still in this kingdom, notwithstanding the earnestness expressed by his Majesty that he should repair to his command: and that he had signed a commission to four Lords and eight commoners, as a committee for the affairs of Ireland, and yet little or nothing was done. In short he confuted all the reasons they had given, as he might easily do. **RAPIN** says, that the Parliament lost no time in replying to the King; but in **RUSHWORTH**, whom he quotes as his authority at the head of the paragraph, there is no such reply to be found, nor in **LORD CLARENDON**. If the King got an advantage by being able now to say, that he had offered to go in person and endeavour the reduction of Ireland, but his offers were rejected; the Parliament on the other hand had a new cause of triumph, that they had plainly threatened him out of what he pretended to have been firmly resolved to do. In a short time after, both Houses threw a reflection upon the King, in one of their declarations, that tho' the insurrection in Ireland began at the latter end of October, yet that the proclamation against those bloody traitors who joined in it, came not out till the beginning of January; and then, by special command from his Majesty, but forty copies were appointed to be printed. General **LUDLOW** in his memoirs hath gone further; he hath asserted very falsely, "that the Parliament earnestly pressed the King to proclaim them rebels, but could not obtain it to be done till after many weeks: and then but forty of those proclamations were printed, and not above half of them published." The reader may remember that the Irish Ministry had sent a draught of a proclamation to the Lord Lieutenant, to be signed by the King's own hand, and sealed with his signet; and desired twenty copies might be sent them. His Majesty, in his answer to the two Houses, reminds them that he was in Scotland at the breaking out of that rebellion, and for a month after; that

that he therefore remitted all the care of that business to his Parliament; that however he had observed all the forms, to which they, or his Irish Council, had advised him; that if no proclamation from him issued sooner, it was because none was sooner desired; that the number mentioned was twenty, but that he had caused forty to be printed, which he had signed with his own hand; and it being double the number desired from Dublin, he thought no objection could be made to him on that head.—To be impartial it must be said, that the truth was, as the King had related, but it was not the whole truth: he might be very well excused in signing only forty, when the Ministers who drew them desired no more than twenty: but he ordered Secretary NICHOLAS, when the copy was sent to the printer with a warrant for the printing them, to declare it was “his Majesty’s express command that he should print but forty copies.” What the King’s reason could be for this command, it is hard to say: but it is easy enough to see, from the suspicions there were of his tenderness to the rebels, that this warrant would be made use of to his disadvantage; and in whatever light we consider it, it could not be to his credit. In these mutual reproaches for a neglect of Ireland consisted in a manner all that was done here about that time for its relief. The Parliament, to save appearances, now and then sent a few forces, a little ammunition, and small sums of money; just enough to feed the hopes of the Protestants, and to keep the war alive, but in no respect sufficient to supply their wants, or to enable them to reduce the rebels. Thus in the beginning of June, after the King had reproached them with their shameful negligence of Ireland, they sent eleven thousand five hundred pounds, and four regiments of foot: “a supply so unanswerable to the long expectations of the government,—as they write the Lord Lieutenant,—and so far short of enabling them to give any satisfaction to the army, that they still lay open to the danger of mutiny; and their proceedings were arraigned with terrible exclamations.” We must now leave England, where nothing more was done this year in Irish affairs, and which was in the midst of its distractions preparing for a civil war; in order to return to Ireland which was unhappily engaged in one: and if the hand of Providence had not been very heavy, as a scourge upon these nations, the fate of the latter might have served as a warning to prevent the miseries of want and slaughter

CHARLES I.
A. 1642.

CHARLES I. which the former afterwards endured. But as this war, between the King and his Parliament, had a considerable influence on the affairs of Ireland, and put them in some measure under a new direction, it will be proper to put a period to this book. The reflexions to be made on it are so obvious, and it is so very plain to the reader, at whose door must lie the blame of continuing this rebellion, that it is entirely needless to point them out. I shall therefore conclude it with an observation I have somewhere met with, that kingdoms are liable, like all other sublunary things, to be disturbed or interrupted in their courses by certain extraordinary incidents unforeseen; which for any thing we can discover of the ways of Providence, may be termed epidemical distempers that frequently precipitate their destruction.

A. 1642.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL-WAR
IN
I R E L A N D.

B O O K IV.

THE nearer the Parliament of England advanced to an open rupture with the King, the more did the Lords Justices, and their party in the Council of Ireland, withdraw themselves from their obedience to his Majesty's commands, and delay the execution of his orders : the more in short, they were the Ministers of the Parliament, and less the Ministers of the King: When CHARLES I.
A. 1646.
BORLASE.
CARTE.
CLANRICA;
CASTLEMA.
COX. SR. CHA. COOTE went out on the expedition in which he was killed, LORD LAMBERT, being the most eminent commander left in Dublin, had the charge of the city committed to him, during SR. CHARLES'S absence; and on the news of his death the Council continued his Lordship in the government, and applied to the King for a commission to confirm him in it. The King approved of

P 2

Lord

CHARLES I. Lord LAMBERT ; and sent an order to the Justices to pass a patent for making him Governor of Dublin. But, in
 A. 1642. the mean time, the Lord Lieutenant having sent over a commission appointing Colonel MONCK, to that command, with a salary of forty shillings a day—in which he exceeded his authority—the Council respite the execution of the King's orders. They had no such pretences however in the case of Lord MOORE, and several others, wherein they took upon them to frustrate his Majesty's commands. The Earl of ORMONDE received at this time a letter of thanks from the King, for his eminent services against the rebels ; and another from the Speaker of the House of Commons, to thank him for the same in their name : the Commons also ordered him a present of a jewel of five hundred pounds value, and that the House of Lords should be moved to join with them, in desiring the King to make his Lordship a Knight of the garter. But whether the Lords did not concur with them in that request, or whether his Majesty did not approve of their recommending to such honours, doth not appear : it is certain that it was not conferred upon him by this King, nor till some years after. His Lordship received however at this time from the King, a commission to nominate, in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, all such subordinate officers as were necessary to supply the vacancies which might happen.

On the twenty-first of June, the Parliament met at Dublin : and on the same day, the House of Commons expelled all the Members that were actually in the rebellion, or that stood indicted of treason ; which, though it took in a considerable number against whom indictments had been found, they had certainly a power to do : but on the next day they made an order, that no person should sit in the House, either in that, or any future Parliament, till they had taken the oath of supremacy ; which they certainly had not a power to do. The oath was however immediately taken by all the Members then present : and as by the first order forty-six in the rebellion were expelled, so by the last a much greater number, unexceptionable in all respects but that of their religion, were disqualified. What by these orders, what by many that were prevented by the rebel army from coming up, what by others employed against them, and what by many absentees in England, the House was very thin. They were sensible that

that they had need of a particular law to warrant what they had thus arbitrary ordained ; and therefore immediately drew up heads of a bill, to be presented to the Council for their approbation, and to be by them transmitted in due form to England. Whether such a bill as this was expedient at that juncture, I will not take upon me to determine : much may be said on both sides : but in the circumstances in which the nation then was, it could not be said to be necessary : and from thence perhaps an argument might be drawn that it was not expedient. The distractions in England however at that time, gave no leisure to the King and Council to take such a bill into consideration ; and the Parliament had not then attempted to alter the constitution of the Irish Government. When they had finished this bill, a declaration was drawn up, and agreed to by both Houses, in an address to the King and Parliament of England, praying that a present course might be taken for executing the penal laws in force in Ireland against all the Papists in that kingdom, and particularly in the city of Dublin ; that bills might be transmitted into England, in order to make all the laws there against the Popish clergy and their relievers to be enacted for Ireland : and that it might not be in the power of any Governor of that kingdom, to suspend, inhibit, or connive at, the exemption of such laws, or any of them. If it was the design of the Council that the rebellion should be thought a war of religion, and a total extirpation of all Catholics, and of Popery, was the scheme proposed, then nothing was more to the purpose than this declaration. But it was a measure, of which all wise and good men dreaded the consequence. The two Houses also joined in a representation of the distress of the State, for want of clothes, arms, ammunition, money, provisions, and men ; and in pressing for an immediate supply of them all, as absolutely necessary for the safety of the nation. Having made a provision, as they thought, for pushing things to extremity, no consideration at all was had of any methods to quench the flame of rebellion, to quiet the minds of the people which were in the utmost distraction, or to restore the peace of the kingdom. The Earl of ORMONDE was abroad with the army ; the Earl of CLANRICARDE could not stir from his post ; and the others, who had honesty and inclination enough to propose such methods, and were not employed abroad, had

CHARLES I. not weight enough to undertake it. On the third day of their sitting, they adjourned to August, to allow time for the return of the bills that were to go to England: and thus ended a session of Parliament, which, with the power of doing a great deal of service to their bleeding country, did a great deal of mischief, by opening further those wounds which it was their duty every way to try to heal. In the same week in which this Parliament met, **SR. AND. AYLMER**, who had married **LORD ORMONDE**'s sister, **LORD CASTLEHAVEN**, and several others who had lived quietly in their own houses, and had never been in any action with the rebels, were arraigned at the bar of the King's bench, and then remanded back to prison. About the same time, in order to save some expence to the State, **LORD MACGUIRE**, and **MACMAHON**, were sent to England, and committed to the Tower of London.

The Lord Lieutenant had for some time appeared devoted to the party which governed in the English Parliament. The reader hath seen that the King complained of his not repairing to Ireland, though he had earnestly pressed him to do so; and one would think by his conduct, that he staid for no other purpose but to serve the interest of the Parliament, and to follow their directions in the disposal of all commands that became vacant. This gave a great and a reasonable disgust to the army: the Colonels complained that they could not recommend very deserving men to their own regiments, and the Subalterns that they were not preferred in their order, but had raw and unexperienced men put over their heads. Upon these accounts, and because it had been the custom in former times, for the Commander in chief to bestow all commissions, that became vacant, whilst the army continued in the field in actual service, the King sent the commission mentioned above to **LORD ORMONDE**; though his Lordship kept it a secret, till an accident happened which obliged him to disclose it. On the death of **SR. C. COOTE**, his Lordship recommended **LORD DILLON** for his troop of horse; a Protestant young Nobleman, who had constantly attended him as a volunteer, to the great hazard of his life, in all the General's expeditions against the rebels; and whose father, the Earl of **ROSCOMMON**, was a Privy Councillor, and had been twice Lord Justice of Ireland. But the Lord Lieutenant, not regarding **LORD DILLON**'s merit, nor the recom-

recommendation of the General, disposed of the troop ; CHARLES I.
 and soon after another, to officers of his own, or the
 Parliament's choosing. Lord ORMONDE was nettled at
 this neglect : and another troop of horse becoming vacant
 just after, he gave it to Lord DILLON, without any other
 ceremony than acquainting the Lord Lieutenant that
 he should do so. The Lord Lieutenant who knew nothing
 of the Earl's commission from the King, complained to
 the Lords Justices of his abusing his power, in pretend-
 ing to dispose of commands without his Lordship's leave;
 and directed them to put Major WILLIS in possession of
 the troop which had been given to Lord DILLON. Lord
 LEICESTER however alledged as a reason, that a resolu-
 tion had been taken in England, that no troops nor com-
 panies, either of the old or new army, should be given
 to any but Englishmen whom the Parliament approved
 of. If this had not been false in fact—as it was by Lord
 INCHQUIN's having a troop then given to him, who
 was born in Ireland, and of Irish race—it was a resolu-
 tion which the Lord Lieutenant could not obey, without
 betraying his trust from the King. Lord ORMONDE,
 who had never heard of the resolution, and who thought
 the distinction odious, and of pernicious consequence, in-
 sisted on his right by the King's commission ; in the exe-
 cution of which he had hitherto been very sparing.
 He had indeed conferred the command of a com-
 pany of firelocks, which were the most proper for con-
 voys, on SR. PHIL. PERCIVAL, Commissary General of
 the provisions of the army ; who had been some time in
 possession of the company, recruited it with men, repaired
 their arms, and supplied the wants of the soldiers at
 his own expence, when the Government had no money
 to pay them. But now the Lord Lieutenant, who was
 too full of resentment to write to Lord ORMONDE, in
 the same letter in which he commanded the Justices to dis-
 possess Lord DILLON, commanded them also to turn out
 SR. P. PERCIVAL, and to give his commission to Cap-
 tain DENN who had one already. The Council how-
 ever paused upon this order relating to SR. PHILIP, who
 was much in every body's esteem ; and choose first to
 represent to the Lord Lieutenant, the great inconveni-
 encies which would happen by obeying his order. Lord
 ORMONDE refused to sign the letter ; and dispatched
 SR. PAT. WEMY's into England, to acquaint the King
 with

CHARLES I. with the indignity that had been put upon him, and with the management of his Majesty's affairs in Ireland. The
A. 1648. King was then at York; where the Earl of LEICESTER was also come, as he pretended in his way to that kingdom, but in reality to complain of Lord ORMONDE's invasion of his rights, and to get him removed. The reader, from what he hath seen of the exertion of his Lordship's authority, will easily guess how this dispute ended; especially when he is told, that Lord LEICESTER justified what he himself had done, by insisting that no body should be admitted to any command, but who was first approved of by the Parliament. Whilst there were any hopes of accommodation, and there were any terms necessary to be observed towards the Parliament, it might have been prudent in the King,—though his affairs in Ireland suffered by it extremely—to continue Lord LEICESTER, who was in their favour, Lord Lieutenant. But when all hopes of accommodation were at an end, when he had not obeyed the King's pressing instances to repair to Dublin, and when he now avowed himself a creature of the Parliament, the King was inexcusably weak, in not displacing him immediately, by giving the sword to the Earl of ORMONDE. But his Majesty contented himself with supporting his Lordship in what he had done, and in acquainting the Ministry at Dublin, that as it was by his command and by the authority which he had given the Lieutenant-General, in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, that Lord ORMONDE had disposed of some posts in the army, so his Majesty would not suffer them to be disputed; but that all persons who had already, and should hereafter be so preferred by his Lordship, in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, should be continued in their commands. It was indeed high time to invest Lord ORMONDE with this authority; considering that attempts had been made to engage the army in the interests of the English Parliament; and more endeavours probably might be used. **SR. P. WEMYS** was instructed to lay all the wants of the State before the King; and at the same time to complain of the arbitrary interposition of the Justices and their party in the management of the war, by which means several fair opportunities of reducing the enemy had been lost. Among other partialities and mismanagements, may be reckoned the custodiams which were granted at this time of the lands of rebels to their favourite officers of the army, and the creatures of the Ministry.

stry. There was a specious pretence indeed of relieving some of the sufferers in this rebellion, of encouraging and subsisting some of the soldiers, of preserving the corn and grass to supply the army and other good subjects, and of keeping the rebels from these advantages. But in fact these custodiams were an obstruction to the service, by employing the troops upon them when they should have been sent against the enemy : and the officers to whom they had been granted were so intent upon their gain, that notwithstanding the public necessities, they would not send their corn to supply the markets, without an extravagant price. A crime perhaps more notorious among the English, than any other civilised people under the sun !

CHARLES I.
A. 1642.

It is time now to look into the provinces to see what was doing there. The province of Leinster, of which the Ministry had the care, if it had suffered nothing from the rebels since the battle of Kilrush, it had done very little against them. The distresses of the army were so great, that in truth but little could be attempted. The four regiments which were at last sent over, were so far from being a reinforcement equal to their necessities, that they wanted at that time, as they express in their letter to the committee for Irish affairs, at least seven thousand men to recruit their forces. These supplies were necessary to enable them to take the field, and to reduce Rosse, and Wexford ; and that service was also necessary, because the rebels expected great supplies of men, and arms, and ammunition, to arrive at those two places. In order to intercept this reinforcement, the Ministers had sent to the Parliament for two men of war to lie at the mouth of the river of Wexford : but instead of this, Captain KETTERLEY, who had been sent with some frigates to lie off the coast of Ireland, had, notwithstanding all the entreaties of the Lords Justices, sailed back, and left the sea open for the ships which brought the succours. One is tired and disgusted with so many repeated complaints, as are found in the letters of the Council, of the distresses they endured for want of men, of money, of arms, of ammunition, of provision, and of the small quantities they received of either from the English Parliament ; “ as though, say they, it was intended that the forces should be incapacitated to act against the rebels.” A great deal of this disagreeable trouble hath been saved the reader,

by

CHARLES I. by my giving only a general account of such complaints, without reciting the particulars. The Council however made a shift, after the arrival of the four regiments above-mentioned, to send Lord ORMONDE with four thousand five hundred foot, and six hundred horse, to raise the blockade of Athlone; in which the President of Conaught had long suffered. In his way thither, he took the castle of Knocklynch by storm; forced a pass in which five hundred rebels had intrenched themselves; and advancing to Lord NETTERVILLE's, who had fortified his house and intended to defend it, his Lordship abandoned it, and burned the town; and the Earl proceeded towards Athlone. But **SR. JAMES DILLON**, who had lain before it from Christmas, upon the approach of the army, raised the blockade and retired. This gave an opportunity to the Lord President, to march out with a small party, and to meet Lord ORMONDE at Kilkenny: where he received his own, and **SR. MICH. ERNLY's** regiment, and two troops of horse that were designed him, but no money to pay, or to subsist them; and the General, having performed the service on which he was sent, returned with his army to Dublin.

We left the province of Munster in a very indifferent plight; the President, **SR. WIL. ST. LEGER**, having neither men, nor money, nor provision, neither able to take the field, nor to relieve the fort of Limerick which was besieged. Both he, and his province, seem to have been abandoned by the Council, and left to shift for themselves as they could. In the last letter he wrote to the Earl of ORMONDE, which was almost eight months after the rebellion had broken out, he tells him "that he had not received the honour of one tittle or letter from them, either of instruction, encouragement, or advice. Money he did not expect from them, nor urge for very earnestly: but that which he chiefly desired, they could never answer the refusal of before God or man; having so many ordnance to spare—of which he only desired six pieces—as that he knew they could not possibly devise how to employ them there." As the rebels had laid a boom across the river of Limerick, to prevent its being relieved by sea, they were in daily expectation of its being surrendered for want of provision and ammunition; but finding their hopes fail them, they resolved to undermine it. Having worked some time with little success, at last a great part of the wall fell down; and the fort capitulated.

The

The President, seeing himself and his province so much neglected, and being worn down too much with age to bear up against the difficulties with which he had to encounter, he laid his ill treatment so much to heart, that he fell into a disorder of which he died, in a few days after the loss of Limerick. Upon his death, the military command of the province was given by the Administration to Lord INCHQUIN; and in the civil government, he was joined by Lord BARRIMORE, who dying a few months after, the whole command devolved upon him. He sent over two officers to the Parliament to solicit supplies of all sorts; but he got nothing save only ten thousand pounds, which served to keep the forces just alive, and not to enable them to take the field; they were so much weakened by sickness, and want, and other hardships. The Lord FORBES, who was made by the Parliament, without the King's concurrence, Lieutenant General of the additional forces raised by the adventurers to scour the coasts of Ireland, in a privateering kind of way, came into the harbour of Kinsale, with twelve hundred soldiers on board his ships; and without any ceremony towards Lord INCHQUIN, in acquainting him with his commission or design, he landed his men, and marched with eight hundred into the country: where he sustained a great loss in men, and arms, and colours by the rebels. Lord INCHQUIN, being desirous to make use of the forces for the advantage of the public service, passed by the incivility shewed him; and sent a gentleman to Lord FORBES, desiring his assistance in an expedition to destroy the harvest of the rebels in the county of Limerick, which by preventing their subsistence in the ensuing winter might shorten the war in that province. But Lord FORBES gave a flat denial. He was solicited also to throw in some provisions by sea to SR. ED. DENNY's castle, a strong and important place on the coast of Kerry: but he chose to make preys on the country, rather than to do any service; and after besieging the castle of SR. ROG. SHAGNUSSY, who was then in actual service against the rebels, after burning his town, wasting his estate, and committing other ravages in the county of Cork, he re-embarked his forces, and sailed for the river of Limerick.

Lord INCHQUIN being thus unassisted, and scarce able to subsist, could do nothing more than make incursions into the country from his garrisons, in order to bring in some provisions for his men. The rebels, by the sur-
render

CHARLES I. render of the castle of Limerick, had acquired some pieces of cannon—one of which carried a ball of two and thirty pounds—and with these they had reduced all the castles in that county. They were preparing to reduce those in the county of Cork; and Lord **INCHIQUIN**, apprehending that he should in the end be blocked up and starved, resolved to make a push, and to put the fate of the province upon the issue of a battle. Besides the forces already mentioned, the Earl of Cork had raised two troops of horse at his own expence, commanded by his sons the Lord **KYNALMEAKY**, and **BROGHILL**, and four hundred foot; and the Earl of **BARRIMORE**, his son-in-law, had raised another troop, and two companies of foot. They had maintained as well as raised them, at their own charge, till a little before this time; when, at the instance of the Administration, they were put on the establishment, but they had not yet received any pay for them. They were very ready however to go upon action; and having joined Lord **INCHIQUIN**, the army under him consisted only of eighteen hundred and fifty foot, and four hundred horse: a small body to encounter seven thousand five hundred rebels; and yet to make up that small body, he had drained his garrisons so near, that there were not above four hundred men left to garrison the important towns of Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal. The Irish brought with them their large battering piece in a hollow tree; drawn by five and twenty yoke of oxen, over bogs where no wheel-carriage could pass. Their first attempt was on the castle of Lisscarrol, belonging to **SR. P. PERCIVALL**, which was strong both by art and nature; but having only a serjeant and thirty men to defend it, in a few days surrendered. Lord **INCHIQUIN** being determined to risque a battle, and having with him **SR. CHA. VAVASOUR** a gallant old officer, and the Lords **BARRIMORE**, **DUNGARVAN**, **KYNALMEAKY**, and **BROGHILL**, advanced towards Lisscarrol to meet the enemy. The rebels had intended to march to Donneraile; but hearing of Lord **INCHIQUIN**'s intention to engage them, they drew up in order of battle, to great advantage near the castle, and determined to wait for him in that posture. When his Lordship saw their situation, he was more concerned at their advantage-ground, than at their numbers. He made use of a feint therefore to draw them from it, in which Lord **KYNALMEAKY** was killed by a musket shot;

shot; but this feint not succeeding, he determined to at- CHARLES I.
 tack them where they were, notwithstanding the advan- A. 1642.
 tage of the post they occupied, and their vast superiority.
 The rebels received the attack with more firmness, and
 maintained the action with more courage for a short time,
 than was usual with them; but at last, they fell back,
 and fled with great precipitation, to a neighbouring bog
 which saved them. Of the royal army, there were only
 twelve men killed, and about twenty wounded; but of
 the rebels about seven hundred. There were three pieces
 of cannon, thirteen colours, three hundred muskets, and
 three barrels of powder taken. No quarter was given,
 but to two or three officers, and Colonel BUTLER, son
 to Lord IKERRIN; who was the last man of the Irish
 that retreated. Lord INCHQUIN was wounded in the
 head and hand; but he was not disabled from pursuing
 the rebels in their flight. He was disabled however, by
 the want of pay, and provisions for his men, from pur-
 suing the victory; and was obliged the next day to
 march to Mallow, and distribute his army into garrisons.
 In those he made a shift just to subsist them; but no sup-
 plies arriving from England, notwithstanding his earnest
 solicitation, he was in no condition to make any attempt
 against the enemy, during all the rest of the year.

We left the province of Conaught at the end of May,
 with the counties of Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon,
 mostly in the power of the rebels: And tho' Lord OR-
 MONDE, as we have seen, had carried a supply of two
 thousand five hundred men, yet bringing no provisions,
 nor money for their subsistence, nor for the pay of those
 forces that were before in the province, the men were ra-
 ther a burden than of any use. For they came to a coun-
 try wasted to such a degree, that the garrisons of the
 county of Roscommon could not have subsisted so long as
 they did, if they had not been supplied with provisions
 from the county of Galway, by the care and credit of
 Lord CLANRICARDE. The President had been blocked
 up for six months in Athlone; and being almost starved
 himself, and nothing for the supply of the additional forces.
 DR. BORLASE, who seems greatly prejudiced against
 Lord RANELAGH, says indeed "that with these forces
 he might easily have subdued all Conaught: but instead
 of employing such brave men abroad, while the summer
 lasted, he kept them at home on short and rotten
 commons; whereby most of them were famished, or so
 enfeebled,

CHARLES I. enfeebled, that a tenth man was hardly able to march, tho' the country yet abounded in corn, and cattle." The truth is, the soldiers had not a morsel of bread for three days after they came to Athlone, and for fifteen days succeeding but three pounds to a man : so that they took up their arms, and were marching away to Dublin in a mutiny ; and it was with the utmost difficulty, that **SR. M. ERNLY**, who came with them from England, and commanded one of the regiments, could prevent their going away. This however was not the fault of the President, as **BORLASE** says with great untruth, and as many others at that time seem to have believed.

A. 1642.

The memoirs and letters of Lord **CLANRICARDE**, in which the distresses of that province, and the President's utmost endeavour to relieve them, appear very clearly, are a sufficient vindication of Lord **RANELAGH** : And though **SR. M. ERNLY**, **SR. C. COOTE**, and several other officers, exhibited seventy four articles against his Lordship, which Lord **ORMONDE** sent to the King, yet when he attended his Majesty in England, in consequence of that complaint, he fully cleared himself of all the aspersions cast upon him. Indeed it appears very clearly from these memoirs, that Lord **RANELAGH** was one of those who did not approve of the scheme of extirpation ; and who was for treating those who had been unwarily misled, or forced into the rebellion, with much more moderation, than those who had from the beginning been the chief actors in it : and this opinion, and his conduct conformable to it, were probably the foundation of all the complaints against him. But be this as it might. As soon as he had procured a supply of bread, and four hundred pounds from Lord **CLANRICARDE** on their joint bond, which appeased the army for some time, the President led them into the field, took and burned some castles, engaged and defeated a body of rebels, and routed the forces of **O CONNOR DUN** the Irish Chieftain of the province ; " who had long lain inactive, and was then but newly awakened out of his ale and aquavitæ." The bread and money being exhausted, and the President unable to procure more, the soldiery were reduced to a distress which words cannot paint. This obliged him to make a cessation for three months, in the counties of Westmeath, and Longford ; and not being able to do the same for Roscommon, Athlone was again besieged by the rebels, and so continued for the remainder of this year.

Except

Except a wild tract of country, called Irconought, the whole county of Galway, the largest and richest in that province, was hitherto preserved in peace and obedience, by the indefatigable care, and the great credit, and interest of Lord CLANRICARDE; for he had no assistance of any kind, either of men, money, arms, ammunition, or provision, from the English Parliament, or the Administration of Ireland. The last indeed were so far from supplying his wants, that they were glad of an occasion to traverse the measures which he took, with the greatest wisdom and success, for the peace and quiet of the country. The reader must remember the dislike they shewed, at the agreement which he had made with the town of Galway, and the protections he had given. Had any other man been Governor of the fort, besides Captain WILLOUGHBY, that pacification might have lasted to the end of the war. But he was young, and violent; and the pacification, which had cost Lord CLANRICARDE a great deal of trouble, was no sooner completed hardly, than he broke it; burning, and laying waste the villages, for some miles into the country; destroying the suburbs; firing his artillery for a whole day together into the town; and causing such a general discontent, and resentment, that it put all Lord CLANRICARDE's wisdom, care, and interest to the stretch, to prevent an open insurrection. Even some of his friends and relations were so exasperated, at the outrageous behaviour of the Governor, which was little short of madness, as to desert his Lordship, and engage with the rebels. The Captain went into the country, which was then perfectly quiet, with his trumpet and troop of horse; and from some pretence of complaint of a small extortion, seized a serjeant of a company which had been raised by Lord CLANMORRIS, gave no attention or answer to his Lordship's letter about him, but carried him bound to the fort, and there immediately hanged him. This violent proceeding so enraged his Lordship, who had been very active in suppressing the disorder in the county, and in assisting and supplying the fort, that he charged Lord CLANRICARDE with a neglect of his friends and kindred; and was bent upon revenging the injuries done him by this insolence.

WILLOUGHBY was not content with what he could do himself, but he sent for Lord FORBES, to assist him with his fleet against the town, in breach of the pacification.

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A. 1642.

CHARLES I. tion. As soon as his Lordship anchored in the bay of Galway, he landed some of his men on the Thomond side, and burnt the houses, and wasted the lands, of the only two Gentlemen in the county, who had not joined in the rebellion; and who had not only preserved the English all that was in their power, but had also relieved the fort with provisions, by their boats when it was besieged. The arrival of this commander, without any commission from the King, or from the Government of Ireland, threw Lord CLANRICARDE into a fresh perplexity. His Lordship represented to him, the fatal consequences that would attend the breach of the pacification. But FORBES, who had all the roughness of the seaman, without any of the politeness of the nobleman, and who was besides governed by the famous HUGH PETERS, his chaplain in the expedition, meant nothing less than to do any service to the King, and the country, against the rebels. Thus landing his men on the west-side of Galway, he took possession of one of the churches, planted two pieces of ordnance against the town, declared against the pacification, required an absolute submission from the corporation, of which he sent them a draft, and burned all the villages round about, which were chiefly the estates of Lord CLANRICARDE. His Lordship complained loudly of these proceedings; and the President of Conaught went on purpose to Lord FORBES, to persuade him to withdraw his forces, and to leave the town and country in the quiet, in which the Governor, by his great prudence and interest, had hitherto preserved it. But though the Admiral had found by this time that he could not take the place, nor execute the wild schemes which WILLOUGHBY had infused into him, yet when the President proposed his removing with his fleet to the bay of Sligo, which was an excellent harbour at a small distance, a town easily to be gained, and the fittest for a magazine of any in those parts, the Admiral would not comply with it. He made however some accommodation with Lord CLANRICARDE, and some little excuses for his uncivil letters, and the outrages of his men: and having committed a senseless kind of fury towards the town, in defacing the church, digging up the graves, and burning the bones and coffins inclosed in them, he embarked his men, and returned to the river of Limerick. As soon as Lord CLANRICARDE had got rid of this imperious and

trou-

troublesome visitant; he renewed his care and influence CHARLES.
in supplying the fort with three months provisions. But A. 1642.
it would take up a large book of itself to recount the violent proceedings of Captain WILLOUGHBY, and of the Captain of a frigate in the bay of Galway, against the town; the resentment of the town against those commanders; the complaints of both to Lord CLANRICARDE; his Lordship's representations to the Government; and the infinite pains and trouble which it cost him, to piece up the quarrels between the town and fort. These may be seen at large in the folio edition of Lord CLANRICARDE's memoirs: and nothing but the perusal of that work can give the reader an idea of the indefatigable application of that Nobleman; the difficulties he had to struggle with, through the want of all assistance from the Ministry, or rather from their discouragements; from the perverseness and ill humours of the town of Galway; the unaccountable frenzy of Captain WILLOUGHBY; the perpetual solicitations of some of his Catholic friends and relations to join with them in the common cause; and the threatnings, if he did not, of being destroyed by others. But such was the real patriotism of Lord CLANRICARDE, that nothing could move him from his loyalty to the King, and his love to his country: and therefore at much expence, and with great trouble, and danger, he continued to supply the fort, and to preserve the town and county of Galway in their duty, to the end of the year.

In the province of Ulster, to which we must now return, we left the rebels reduced to the last extremities, by their disappointment at Drogheda, their loss of Newry, the successes of SR. H. TITCHBORNE, and the progress of the Scotch forces in the North of Ireland. But MONROE having lain idle for two months, without attempting any thing against the rebels, they had time to gather again in a body: and SR. P. O NEIL, having collected all the forces that could be raised in that province, marched at the head of them against SR. W. and SR. ROB, STEWART. They met, and fought; and after the sharpest action that had been in the North, the rebels, were routed with the loss of five hundred slain on the spot—BORLASE says two thousand—besides many prisoners and a much greater number wounded. The two conquerors were desirous of improving their victory, by driving the enemy out of their lurking holes in those parts; and they represented the necessity of doing it to the government:

CHARLES I. vernment : but as they had no pay for their men, and the Ministers either could not or would not send them
A. 1642. any, this necessary service was not performed. About this

time Lord MONTGOMERY, with seven hundred of his own regiment, and three troops of horse, followed by others of Lord CLANBOY's and CONWAY's men, joined MONROE as he lay in his quarters near Lisburn. His Lordship pressed him extremely to pursue the rebels into the county of Ardmagh ; and MONROE positively refusing to cross the Bann, he marched thither with his own little army, and forced the town of Charlemont. On the same night, SR. W. BROWNLOW surprised the fort of Dunganannon ; and with the brass ordnance that was found there, Lord MONTGOMERY hoped to frighten the fort of Charlemont—the only place of strength left to the rebels in those parts—into a surrender ; but being short of ammunition, he was obliged to quit the enterprise and return home. He prepared however to make a second attempt upon that castle ; but MONROE would not permit his forces to march, pretending that the Scots only were to make war in Ulster. Indeed they carried that article in their agreement with the English Parliament—so dishonourable to England, and so pernicious to the Irish service,—to so great a length, that the Earl of LEVEN, the Scotch General, sent positive orders, that no place should be besieged, nor a garrison put into any town in Ulster, but by permission of the Scotch commanders.

As soon as MONROE began to assemble his forces, and to make ready for attacking the rebels, which was not till the middle of July, the Irish Chiefs had a meeting to consider what should be done : and finding it impossible for them, in their then circumstances, to make any defence, having neither arms, nor ammunition, it was agreed that every one should shift for himself ; and they were preparing for their escape abroad accordingly. But just at this juncture, an express arrived from OWEN O NEIL, with an account that he was landed in the county of Donnegall, accompanied with some old officers and soldiers of his own regiment, and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition ; that he had sent a ship with another cargo to Wexford ; and since his landing had possessed himself of Castle-Doe, where he should stay till they sent some forces to convoy him into their quarters. This account revived their hopes ; and getting together a sufficient number of men for that purpose, they soon brought O NEIL to the fort of Charlemont ; which, if the Scotch
 General

General had pleased, might have been then in the hands of the Government. But he would not permit the royal army to take it, nor would he take it himself. His whole time was spent in ravaging the counties of Down and Antrim, which he wasted more than the rebels had done, and in driving vast herds of cattle to the sea side, and transporting them into Scotland. His exploits of this kind were so extravagant, that the Council found themselves obliged to complain of him to the Commissioners for Irish affairs; lest he should exhaust the province of Ulster of all the cattle, and distress the army, and inhabitants, for want of provision.

OWEN O NEIL was a man of good natural parts much improved by experience in his profession; in the exercise of which he seems to have copied after the model of the Roman FABIVS, by leaving very little to chance, in dextrously taking hold of any advantage given him by his enemy, and in the utmost care to afford no advantage over himself. To this officer, who had brought them such seasonable supplies, the Ulster rebels submitted readily, as their General; and put the management of the war into his hands. To his military qualifications, may be added his sobriety, moderation, reservedness, and knowledge of the world; in all which SR. PHELM was very defective. Tho' the latter therefore had the true pretensions to the title of THE O NEIL, which he had assumed—OWEN being of an illegitimate branch—yet he thought it prudent to drop it, in respect to a General officer of such superior merit. The first thing which the new General did, was to express his abhorrence of the cruelties that had been committed upon the English, and to send the few prisoners, that had not been put to the sword, safe to Dundalk. He affected to treat SR. PHELM with great ceremony; but yet he told him plainly, that he deserved to be used with the same cruelty. To shew his detestation of the barbarities that had been committed, he burned several of the murderers houses at Kinnard, where he was declared General; and said with a warmth, that was not usual to him, that he would join with the English rather than not burn the rest. His next care was to discipline his forces, and to provide the fort of Charlemont against a siege.

For the Earl of LEVAN was landed with so many additional forces, as made the Scots an army in Ulster of ten thousand foot. As many more of the King's forces, besides a thousand horse, were likewise in that province;

CHARLES I. and the whole was under his direction. With this army, that was equal to the greatest undertaking, nothing was done that deserves any notice. They passed over the Bann into the county of Derry; and thence advancing into Tyrone, **LEVEN** wrote a letter to **O NEIL**, to advise him to return to his former service abroad; and in which his Lordship told him, that he was sorry that a man of his great reputation and experience, should come to Ireland to maintain so bad a cause. **O NEIL** in his answer said, that he had more reason to come to relieve the deplorable state of his country, than his Lordship had to march at the head of an army into England against his King, in order to force him into unreasonable conditions, when they were then already masters of all Scotland. **LEVEN** found by this answer, that he was not a match for **O NEIL** in letters; and whether or no he concluded thence that he was not a match for him in arms, it is certain that in the short stay he made in Tyrone he attempted nothing; but retreating back to the Northern part of the province, delivering up the command of the army to **MONROE**, and telling him he would certainly be worsted, if once **O NEIL** got an army together, he went off for Scotland.

Whether this conduct of the Scotch General, at the head of twenty thousand men, will move the reader's mirth or indignation must be left to himself: if it was his Lordship's cowardice, it will excite the former; but if it was his iniquity, that the war might be protracted, and their troops employed, it will move the latter. No good reason surely can be given for such inaction; and if we add, that he refused to send the powder, match, and other military stores, which were at Carrickfergus before his arrival, for which the Lords Justices had given express orders, and for want of which they were in the utmost distress, a bad reason it is to be feared must be assigned. Indeed the Irish confidently gave out, that they had no hostilities to fear from the Scots; and as tho' **MONROE** had a design to confirm the report, he made no attempt upon the enemy during the remainder of the year, nor till the following spring. If, in excuse of this inactivity, he might plead that his forces were very ill paid by the English Parliament, the other forces in the province were paid worse, and were besides in great want of all warlike necessaries. Indeed the two regiments, of Lord **CONWAY**, and **Sr. JOHN CLOTWORTHY**, raised and officered by the Parliament, had received one thousand pounds; but all the other regiments, commissioned by the King at the breaking out
of

of the insurrection, whose services and sufferings had been very great, and who had borne the brunt of the war in all the rigour of the winter season, were left to shift for themselves. It was not till six months after they had been raised and maintained, chiefly at the expence of their officers, who were Gentlemen of fortune in the country, that the Council in Ireland could prevail to have them put upon the establishment; and in six months after they were allowed to be paid, not a shilling had been sent for these ten thousand men. The Council repeated their solicitations in favour of them, from time to time, and represented their infinite distress; but the Parliament contented themselves with ordering the value of fourteen thousand pounds, in money, provision, and ammunition, to be sent to Carrickfergus for them in October; for nothing of this was received at the end of the year, tho' they had been fourteen months in arms without any supply whatever. Having seen the state of the several provinces to this period, we must return to the transactions which were carrying on at Dublin by the Council, and at Leinster under them.

CHARLES I.
A. 1642.

A dispute between the Lord Lieutenant, and the Earl of ORMONDE, about the disposing of commissions in the army, hath been already mentioned: and as Lord LEICESTER pretended that he was going over to his command in Ireland, so the castle was fitting up for his reception. Wherefore to provide against any oppression, which Lord ORMONDE might suffer from the ill humour of the Lord Lieutenant, or any detriment to the public service by vacating his commission, the King sent him a licence to repair into England when he saw fit; and a commission, under the great seal, of Lieutenant General of the army in Ireland, by immediate authority from his Majesty: the commissions which he had for that post before being from the Lord Lieutenant, and revocable at his pleasure. The King, having thus provided for the continuance of his Lordship's power, as a further mark of the sense his Majesty had of his eminent services and fidelity, created him Marquis of ORMONDE. But the more he was honoured and confided in by the King, the more obnoxious he became to the Irish Ministers. They had always found his command in the army had been a great obstruction to their measures; and they did every thing which they could to make him uneasy in it, that he might be tempted to throw it up. He was but too well acquainted with their sentiments, and with their designs against him; but his desire to serve the

CHARLES I. King, and to prevent the ruin of his country, made him pass by all their contumelious usage. He had about this time proposed to them the siege of Wexford, where the rebels expected their foreign supplies to land; and desired nothing more than to march out with such a part of the army only as might well be spared from Dublin. He pressed this expedition daily at the Council board; but the prevailing opinion, that they had not either men, or ammunition enough to spare for such an undertaking, set it aside. That proposal being rejected, the Marquis then recommended, that a part of the army might be employed, in reducing some of the most considerable inland places in Leinster; in which lay the greatest strength of the rebels in those parts. This proposal met with a better reception; and the Marquis had fixed on the number of men, and the day to march: but falling ill himself of a violent fever—not without some suspicion of poison, says **LORD CASTLEHAVEN**—that design was also laid aside. Tho' all his proposals of going out upon service, had been answered with the emptiness of the stores, and the wants of the army, yet when he was confined by illness, provisions were found, without any fresh supply, for a three weeks expedition under the **LORD LISLE**; who did nothing more in it than waste the lands of the Earl of **FIN-GALL**, and burn the houses, corn, hay, and turf, that he found in the country, without any opposition from the rebels.

Before the Marquis was recovered, **Colonel PRESTON** landed at Wexford. He was brother to **LORD GORMANSTON**, had served many years abroad with great reputation, and, having married a Flemish lady of quality, was in a fair way of aggrandising himself in Flanders. He brought with him three frigates of war, besides some other vessels laden with battering cannon, field pieces, and a vast quantity of arms and ammunition. He was accompanied with four Colonels, several engineers, and five hundred other officers who had been long employed in foreign service, whom he had persuaded to try their fortune under him. There had two vessels arrived at the same port before him, laden with arms and ammunition; and he was soon followed with twelve more, not only freighted with the same warlike stores from three ports in France, but with abundance of officers, and old soldiers, which **RICHLIEU** had discharged, that they might return into their own country, upon this occasion.

The

The Council in Ireland had given notice to the English Parliament of these intended supplies—as already mentioned—and had desired some men of war to be sent upon that coast to intercept them. But when Lord ORMONDE proposed to the same Council the siege of Wexford, in order to prevent the landing of these supplies, or securing them if they came into port, they were as inattentive to him, as they saw the Parliament had been to them; and probably because they saw the Parliament so. In this manner were the Irish supplied abundantly with all sorts of warlike stores; whilst the English forces were labouring under the want of every thing.

CHARLES I.
A. 1642.

There was not a single piece of battering cannon at Dublin, and their powder and match were brought very near to an end. The cloathing, and money, that had been sent, bore no sort of proportion to the distresses of the officers, and soldiers of the army. To enumerate all these would be tedious and disagreeable: let it suffice to say in general, that during a whole year of this rebellion, the several sums put together sent over by the English Parliament for the pay of the army—which was above thirty four thousand men, besides the Scots—and for the relief of the ruined Protestants, amounted to no more than eighty eight thousand five hundred pounds. Whoever considers the vast disproportion between the sums remitted, and what was necessary for the pay of the army, and the other occasions of the service, the amazing slowness in sending any supplies, and the paltry sums and quantities in which they were sent, so unequal to the distresses of the State and army, and of so little use to remove them, can scarce believe that the English Parliament had any desire then to suppress this rebellion. Many instances might be given in which it served their purposes very effectually; but they have been already hinted at, and more does not fall within the purpose of this history. About the latter end of October, REYNOLDS and GOODWYN, two members of the House of Commons, arrived at Dublin, with twenty thousand pounds, and some powder and match. The business of these men was to govern the Lords Justices, and to endeavour to seduce the army in Leinster; in order to make themselves as sure of Ireland, as they were then of Scotland, and tho' the supply they brought was infinitely below the necessities of the State and army, yet they signified that nothing further was to be soon expected.

CHARLES I.

A. 1642.

The Parliament of Ireland met at Dublin in November according to their adjournment ; but the bills which had been sent to England, in order to make the penal laws against the Papiſts ſtill more ſevere, were not yet returned : and according to POYNING's law, there could be no proceeding upon thoſe bills, till they were approved; and remitted by the King, and Council in England. The Miniſters, ever ready at expedients, propoſed a bill to ſuſpend a part of the ſtatute, called POYNING's act, concerning acts to be paſſed for the abolishing of Popery, and the attainder of the rebels. But as in the draft of this bill they had taken notice of the Adventurers act lately paſſed in England, the Marquis of ORMONDE objected to it, as implying a conceſſion very prejudicial to the independency of that kingdom: The Parliament were much alarmed at this objection ; and as they would not admit, that acts paſſed in England, ſhould be obligatory upon Ireland, without being confirmed there, ſo this expedient was then dropped. A petition from the Lord DUNSANY, and ſeveral other priſoners in the caſtle, was preſented to the Houſe of Lords ; complaining of the hardſhips they ſuffered in their confinement, and deſiring to be admitted to bail : but after ſeveral debates, the Houſe came to a reſolution not to intermeddle in the caſe, and to refer their examinations to the court of King's bench ; the judges whereof ſhould make uſe of them, as they ſaw cauſe, and as was practiſed in the like caſes. The petitioners, finding they were not likely to be bailed, preſented a ſecond petition ; deſiring that their priſon might be changed. This petition was referred to the conſideration of a committee, who reported that the Lord DUNSANY, and three others, were fit to be recommended to the Council, to be ſent to ſome priſon or place of ſafety in the city.

As ſoon as REYNOLDS, and GOODWYN, ſent over by the Engliſh Houſe of Commons—as above mentioned—were ſettled at Dublin, they took upon them the direction of all public affairs: they were allowed by the Lords Juſtices, without any leave from the King, to ſit in the Privy Council ; and their opinion governed the whole board. When they made their firſt appearance, PARSONS being whiſpered in the ear by Lord LISLE—who had himſelf no buſineſs there—directed them to ſit down, and take their places : and as ſoon as their letters of credence and inſtructions were read, they offered to withdraw ; but the ſame Lord Juſtice told them there was no occa-

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sion for it, the business to be debated being only war; CHARLES I.
upon which they sat down again, and put on their hats,
From this time, by the direction of PARSONS only, with, A. 1642.
out consulting any other of the board, they came as regularly, and sat at every meeting, as tho' they had been members of the Privy Council. They applied themselves particularly to gain the officers of the army: and employed the twenty thousand pounds they had brought over with them, in such a manner as might best promote that design. If they could put the power of the army under Lord LITTLE, and get the Government of Dublin into the hands of another creature of their Parliament, they thought their business would be done. But Lord ORMOND's credit with the officers was too well established; and Lord LAMBERT would not resign, nor be corrupted. In short, they neglected no means of creating a general disaffection to the King; which caused great disturbances at Dublin. Among other instruments for that purpose, they made use of some noisy impudent preachers, such as had been used with success to the same purpose in England. One in particular—S. JEROME a lecturer at St. Patrick's—employed his talents so much to the satisfaction of the Ministers, by thus prostituting the place and character he spoke in, that he was appointed to preach at Christchurch, where the Council go in state to divine service. In a sermon which he delivered there, he inveighed so much against the King and Queen, the Council and the army, that the Archbishop of DUBLIN thought fit the next day to silence him, and to inhibit his preaching as lecturer of St. Patrick's any longer. JEROME applied himself to his patrons the Lords Justices; who the next day signed an order that he should continue the lecture without interruption, till good cause to the contrary were shewed to them: and lest the Archbishop should plead ignorance of their pleasure, if he should dare to prosecute their tool for disobeying his Diocesan's mandate, his Grace had that order sent him. Whether the preacher, or his patrons, had the most impudence, shall be left to the reader's determination: but the House of Lords, then sitting, resolved that the sermon should not pass without a censure. Lord HOWTH therefore acquainted the House, that he had been informed, by a reverend Prelate, of some very scandalous reflections, which one JEROME had thrown on their Majesties and some of the Members of that House, in a sermon on Sunday last; which he thought was an affair that required their Lordship's consideration. The Bishop of

MEATH

CHARLES I. MEATH then stood up, and assured the House, that he was at church and heard the reflections mentioned ; upon which an order was made to take JEROME into custody, and to bring him before the House to answer the complaint against him. The next day the Bishop of MEATH informed the House that JEROME had the day before preached another sermon in the same place, no less scandalous than the former, and therefore moved that he might be brought before them, and punished ; more especially, he said, as the Lords Justices had protected him, in contempt of the authority of his diocesan. But JEROME, not caring now to rely upon his protection, absconded ; and was not taken till the Tuesday following, when he was brought to the bar and committed to the custody of the Serjeant at arms. Had it not been for the length which the Ministers went, in supporting such a turbulent noisy fellow, he was in himself so worthless and inconsiderable, that the Lords would have left him to the contempt of the public, without any notice of him. But when they saw the steps which the Justices had taken, it was no longer the cause of a mean illiterate buffoon, but it was the cause of the State against the Ministers of the State. The business of JEROME therefore was referred to a committee, of three spiritual and six temporal Lords, upon whom the Judges were to attend. When the report was made to the House, it was thought the most prudent way, in order to put a stop to such licentiousness, to send the examinations to the Council, by the Lords ORMONDE and LAMBERT, who were members of it, and for them to recommend it to the Justices, as a matter of great consequence fit for their consideration. At the same time, JEROME was committed to the custody of one of the Sheriffs of Dublin, till further order from the Justices, or the House of Lords. The Justices were far from inclining to punish a man whom they had protected, if not employed ; and this impunity encouraged others to follow his example. Upon this, the Lords ORMONDE and LAMBERT were again appointed to acquaint the Ministers with the evil consequences of this practice ; and that it was the desire of the house that they would take care to prevent them. But as the Ministers were determined to do nothing in it themselves, they were resolved that the House of Lords should have no opportunity of proceeding in it neither. Wherefore letting the business lie dormant, on the day on which they had determined to prorogue the Parliament, PARSONS sent the examinations

aminations to the Lord Chancellor, and directed him to ^{CHARLES I.} inform the House, that the Council "thought JEROME ^{A. 1642.} worthy of punishment, for so much of his sermon as should be deemed to reflect on his Majesty; but that they did not think fit to take it out of their Lordship's hands, and left it wholly to them to punish the delinquent—whom the Justices esteemed a rash distracted man—as the Lords should think fit." The Chancellor delivered the message, and the examinations; and the Lords were not a little nettled at this tricking treatment of the Justices. They resolved however, as short as their time of sitting was to be, to declare their sense of this proceeding: and forming themselves into a committee, of which the Marquis of ORMONDE was chairman, they drew up an order, to which the House unanimously assented, and which was accordingly entered. After reciting the several preceding facts, "it was resolved that the examinations should be carried again to the Justices by the same two Lords; who should acquaint them, that as the House is disabled by the prorogation from the final hearing of the cause, and it is a matter in which the honour of the King, and of the Government, is much concerned, therefore the house conceived it proper, that the Justices who represent his Majesty's person, and who have his authority, should vindicate the same; and that JEROME should be continued, or bailed, or discharged, as they should direct." The Lords had scarce passed this order, when a message was delivered to them from the Commons, that they had heard of an intention to prorogue the Parliament; and having some business of consequence then before them, they desired that the Parliament might not be prorogued till some other day, or at least not till the afternoon. An answer was returned by the Lords, that they had also business of consequence before them; but they had thought fit to conform themselves to the pleasure of the Government, and should acquiesce in the prorogation. Thus was this Parliament, broke up on a sudden, without any intimation to either house, for the dispatch of the business before them, in order to a recess.—It is impossible to read an account of the arbitrary measures of these Ministers, and not to be moved with surprise and indignation, that men so devoted to the destruction of their country, and so disobedient to the interests, and to the orders of the King, should be so long entrusted with the power of hurting both.—We must now turn to the proceedings of the rebels in Leinster till the end of the year.

CHARLES I.

A. 1642.

It was expected when PRESTON had landed at Wexford, with such an extraordinary supply as hath been mentioned, that they would have entered immediately upon some important action: but they had some affairs to settle among themselves, before they could draw out all their forces, to act in concert against the Protestants. It was absolutely necessary for the rebels to establish some authority, to make orders obeyed, and to prevent those mischiefs which always attend competitions for power, and an uncertain right of command. To this purpose, the deputies out of all the provinces met in a general assembly in the latter end of October, at Kilkenny: and after protesting that they did not mean that assembly to be a Parliament—the right of calling which they owned to be inseparable from the Crown—but a general meeting only to establish order in their affairs, till his Majesty's wisdom had settled the present troubles, they proceeded to form their plan, in a manner resembling that of a Parliament. One body was composed of Bishops and temporal Lords; and the other consisted of the deputies of counties and towns, as the estate of the Commons. They met in one room, in which MR. DARCY sat bareheaded on a stool, to represent the Judges, or Masters in Chancery; and MR. NICH. PLUNKET sat as Speaker, to whom both Lords and Commons addressed their Speeches. The former had an upper room to retire to for private consultations; and when they had taken their resolutions, they were communicated to the latter by MR. DARCY. The Clergy met in another house, called the Convocation; where, it was reported, that they handled only matters of tithes, and the settling of Church possessions; to which but little deference was paid by the laity. Each county was to have its Council, to decide all affairs cognisable by Justices of the Peace, pleas of the Crown, and suits for debts, and personal actions. From these there lay an appeal to the provincial Council, consisting of two deputies from every county, to meet four times a year, to decide all suits like Judges of Assize, and to establish recent possessions. From these there lay a further appeal to the Supreme Council of twenty-four, to be chosen by the General Assembly; of which twelve were to be constantly resident at Kilkenny, or wherever else should be judged expedient: they were to have equal voices, but nine were necessary to make a board, and seven were to concur in the same opinion to make it an act of council. Out of these

these twenty-four, a President was to be named by the CHARLES II. General Assembly, who was to be always resident; and A. 1642. in case of death, or sickness, or any necessary absence, the other residents were to choose a Vice-President out of the whole Council.

To this Council was committed a power over all the Generals, military officers of all ranks, and all civil Magistrates: to which they were to send an account of all their proceedings, and receive their orders from it. In short, the Supreme Council was to hear and judge in all causes, except in titles to lands, and to do every thing that was necessary for the common good of the confederacy; and it was to be confirmed or changed at the end of each Assembly. Having thus settled their form of government, the provincial Generals were next appointed; OW. O NEIL for Ulster, PRESTON for Leinster, GAR. BARRY for Munster, and in hopes of prevailing with Lord CLANRICARDE, Colonel BOURKE as Lieutenant General only for the province of Conaught. To prevent dissensions between particular persons about titles to estates, it was ordered, that all lands should be enjoyed by those who had been in possession for three years before the insurrection; and that no distinction, nor comparison should be made, between the old Irish and the new English, or between sept and families, under very severe penalties. But even in this assembly, where harmony and unanimity seemed so essential to their common cause, a spirit of ambition created feuds and animosities; SR. P. O NEIL, R. MOORE, and others, conceiving themselves to be slighted in the disposition of the ministry, and the posts in the army. These were however, composed by the interposition of friends; at least in appearance. Several other regulations were made in this Assembly, but not worth reciting. Their chief employment was to draw up letters and instructions for their agents to foreign princes, desiring their assistance; and petitions to the King and Queen, setting forth their condition, and begging that a place of safety might be assigned them where they might with freedom express their grievances. These petitions are too long and wordy to be inserted: nor is there in them any justification, or apology for their behaviour, but what is founded upon a fallacy too gross to deceive the King. They assign the resolution taken by the English Parliament, and their party in Ireland, to extirpate their nation and religion, and the King's subjects
the

CHARLES I. there in arms being bent upon their ruin, as the reason of their rebellion; which they modestly call too, "putting themselves into a posture of natural defence:" and all the hellish cruelties which **SR. PH. O'NEIL, MACGUIRE,** and others practised, are skimmed over with the phrase "of an intemperance in the commonalty, that they acted some unwarrantable cruelties upon Puritans, or others suspected of Puritanism." But they dwell largely upon the measures offered to the Catholick natives, and give a minute and pathetic description of the barbarities which they suffered. These petitions were read, on the last day of the Assembly, and their conveyance was recommended to the Supreme Council.

The reader must remember how, and on what account, **LORD CASTLEHAVEN** was made a prisoner by the State, without any hopes of relief from England; the King telling his brother, **Colonel TOUCHET**, that he had left all the affairs of Ireland to the Parliament; and on his application to them, the Parliament saying, they could do nothing without the King. In this uneasy situation, after twenty week's imprisonment at the Sheriff's, there was an order of Council to remove his Lordship to a closer confinement in the castle; at which he was startled. The Ministers, he knew, were of the faction of the English Parliament; and **LORD ORMONDE** was confined with illness. Weighing these circumstances well, "and concluding that Innocence was but a scurvy plea in an angry time, he resolved to attempt an escape, and save himself in the Irish quarters." Having effected his escape, and got safely into Kilkenny, at the time when the General Assembly had made these regulations, his Lordship was sent for by the Council there, to tell his story, and what he intended to do. On his replying that he intended to go by the way of France into England, they informed him what they were doing for their preservation, seeing no distinction made, not safety but in arms; and assuring him that he was well-beloved, and persecuted on the same score that they were, and they were all so ruined that they had no more to lose than their lives, they persuaded him to stay with them. He took two or three days time to consider of this proposition, and to examine the model of government they had prepared, and most particularly their oath of association; which was ordered to be taken in every parish throughout the kingdom, and the names of such as took it to be enrolled on parchment, and returned

turned to the ordinaries of every diocese. Lord CASTLE-CHARLES L. HAVEN having spent some time in these considerations, and taken his resolution—to which whether anger and revenge did not incline him as much as any thing, he could not certainly resolve—he returned to the Supreme Council, thanked them for their good opinion of him, and engaged himself to run a fortune with them.” There is an inaccuracy in his Lordship’s placing the Supreme Council before the General Assembly, which is here corrected; but as his memoirs were written at the distance of forty years after the facts, the inaccuracy is not much to be wondered at. He was added to the Supreme Council, when he had taken the oath, without relation to any province, but to the kingdom at large, and made General of the Horse under PRESTON.

The oath of association differs somewhat in form, though little in sense and in a treacherous absurdity, from that which had been taken before; and which is mentioned in the former book. In this oath they swore, to bear true allegiance to the King, and to maintain his prerogatives and rights, the power and privileges of the Parliament in Ireland, and the fundamental laws of that kingdom.” But they swore at the same time, in direct opposition to these fundamental laws, “ that they would defend and uphold the free exercise of the Roman catholic faith and religion throughout the land, and the lives, liberties, estates, and rights, of all those that had taken, or should take that oath, and perform the contents thereof: that they would obey all the orders of the Supreme Council, and would not seek any pardon or protection for any act, touching the said general cause, without the consent of the major part of the said Council: that they would not do any thing to prejudice the said cause which, to the hazard of their lives, and estates, they would assist, prosecute, and maintain: moreover they swore further, that they would not accept of, nor submit to any peace made without the consent of the General Assembly: and for the preservation, and strengthening of the association, upon any peace to be made with the confederate Catholics as aforesaid, they would, to the utmost of their power, insist upon, and maintain the ensuing propositions, until a peace be made, and the articles agreed upon be established, and secured by Parliament.” The ensuing propositions were to no less a purport, than that “ the Roman catholic religion should be

CHARLES I. as freely, and publickly exercised, and in as full lustre
 ——— and splendour, as before the reformation; that the Pre-
A. 1642. lates, and all the secular Clergy, should enjoy their sever-

al jurisdictions, and immunities, in as full and ample a manner, as they did before the reformation; that all the laws of restraint, penalty, fine, or incapacity laid upon the Catholicks, clergy, or laity, since the reformation, should be repealed by Parliament; and that the Prelates, and Clergy, should hold and enjoy all the churches, and church livings, with all their profits and emoluments in as large and ample a manner, as they were enjoyed by the Protestant Clergy before this rebellion."

In short, the meaning of these propositions, was nothing more nor less, than that the Protestant religion should be extirpated, the reformation should be annihilated, and Popery should be established in all its ancient splendour. That the titular Bishops, and Clergy, should have impudence enough to frame such an oath, and such propositions, by which they were to acquire so large a share of power, and profit, is not much to be wondered at: but that the Nobility and Gentry, who had either conscience or common sense, could be weak enough to submit to an oath, by which, in the beginning of it, they were bound to maintain and defend the King's rights, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and in the end of it, equally bound to oppose those rights and laws, and finally to abrogate and overturn them, is a matter of great astonishment. If the making a new Great Seal, coining money, appointing an Attorney General, and ordering "that no temporal government or jurisdiction should be exercised within that kingdom during the troubles, except such as should be approved of by the General Assembly, or Supreme Council," were not acts that deprived the King of his rights and prerogatives, and that abrogated the fundamental laws of the land, then nothing could be so interpreted; the King's Ministers were rebels, and this Assembly was the legal State: An absurdity, which the Popish Clergy found men obedient enough to them to swallow, though so repugnant to common sense. But it confirms an observation made in the last book on the principles of Popery; "that no duty of allegiance, no ties of any kind, are to stand in competition with the interest of that religion." It shews too, what a great power the priesthood have over the conscience.

ence in that communion ; a power inconsistent with reason, and not more opposite to liberty, than to the Christian doctrine.

CHARLES I.

A. 1643.

A resolution had been taken in the General Assembly, to raise an army of upwards of thirty thousand men in Leinster ; the greatest part of which was to be kept in the garrisons of that province : but about six thousand foot, and six hundred horse, were to form an army for General PRESTON ; under whom Lord CASTLEHAVEN served as Lieutenant General of the horse. When half of this body was got together, PRESTON marched into the King's county ; and having invested the castle of Burras, it was surrendered to him immediately. This was the last action performed in the province of Leinster in that year ; and how the state of the other provinces, and of the transactions in England relating to them, remained at that period, hath been already shewn. The next year was ushered in, in the same county, with investing the castle of Birr, which was unprovided for a defence : but however the garrison made a good capitulation, to march out with their arms, half their plate and money, their clothes, and as much provisions as they could carry ; the terms of which were very honourably fulfilled. Lord CASTLEHAVEN had here the good fortune, he saith, to begin his command in the army with an act of charity. For going to see the garrison before it marched out, he found many people of quality of both sexes in a great room ; who, as soon as they saw him, fell on their knees, and, with tears in their eyes, besought him to save their lives. He was much astonished at their posture, and petition ; and having desired them to rise, asked what was the matter. They answered, that from the first day of the war, there had been continual action, and bloodshed, between them and their Irish neighbours, and but little quarter on either side ; and therefore, understanding that he was an Englishman, begged that he would take them under his protection. His Lordship owns that he knew there was too much reason for their fears, considering they were to march for two or three days, through woods, and waste countries, before they got to Athy, their next friendly garrison ; and therefore he went immediately to the General, to obtain his leave to be commander of their convoy : and, as though his Lordship still suspected the villainous cruelty of his own party, he chose three hundred foot and two hundred horse, in whom

A. 1643.

CHARLES I. he could most confide, and carried off the garrison, consisting of above eight hundred men, women, and children; which, though sometimes attacked by the Irish, he delivered safe to their friends with all their baggage.

A. 1643.

There being no opposition made to **PRESTON**, he sat down before fort Falkland; a place of strength enough to have held out against him, longer than he could have staid, in that season of the year, and for want of provisions. But though those within the place were numerous, yet many of them were not serviceable; and they were all much discouraged, by a long and vain expectation of succours from the Ministry, which had entirely neglected them. It would have been impossible indeed, that they should have so long subsisted as they had done, had it not been for the relief which was sent them, from time to time, by Lord **CLANRICARDE**. But as he was himself then surrounded with too many difficulties to afford them a prospect of any succour, and as **PRESTON** had granted an honourable capitulation to the garrison at Birr, the besieged were inclined to surrender to him, for fear of falling into worse hands. Therefore the next day after he came up to fort Falkland, before any battery was raised, Lord **CASTLESTEWART** the Governor capitulated; and was to be conveyed safe with all his people to the fort of Galway.

Though **PRESTON** had met with Colonel **MONCK**, and had near double his number—says **CARTE** from the Lord Justices letter—but in the number pretty equal—says Lord **CASTLEHAVEN** who was in the action—yet the business was soon over, and not many killed before **PRESTON**'s army was routed: and had **MONCK** pursued his victory, it being a plane country, and no garrison near, the Irish must have lost the greatest part of their foot. But the Colonel having contented himself with beating them, and there being but about sixty of them killed in the action, **PRESTON** soon reduced all the forts in that county. Whilst he was upon this expedition, he wrote a letter to Lord **CLANRICARDE**, to endeavour to bring him over to the cause of the Irish, and their religion. But his Lordship so clearly and so ably refuted his arguments, and exposed so thoroughly the false pretences by which they coloured over this rebellion, as not only shewed the superiority of his understanding, and the integrity of his heart, but that all such attempts from the General would be in vain. I have said that Lord **CASTLESTEWART** had

capitulated to be conveyed with all his people to the fort of Galway; and PRESTON accordingly sent two companies with them as a guard. But they were stopped by Colonel BOURKE, the Catholic Lieutenant General for Conaught, who would not permit them to pass according to the capitulation; granting leave only to his Lordship, and two or three servants: and the convoys, with their charge, were obliged to return back, and then to deliver them at the castle of Athlone.

CHARLES I.

A. 1643.

The army in and about Dublin, it hath been already said, was in extreme distress; even after the arrival of the two commissioners from the Parliament with the twenty thousand pounds. The Council had endeavoured to give some little contentment to the soldiers in defect of their pay, by supplying them with provisions for their subsistence: but the Officers, having had no relief that way, and no other pay than in small dividends, proportionable to the inconsiderable sums remitted out of England, were reduced to miseries, grievous to themselves, and scandalous to the nation. They saw themselves neglected so entirely, notwithstanding their great services, and the repeated representations they had made of their distress, that it looked as though they were sent over only to perish, by the sword, or famine. Under a just sense of this cruel treatment, the Earl of KILDARE, and all the principal Officers of the army then in Dublin, except the Lord LISLE, drew up a remonstrance to the Council of the hardships they underwent. They take notice, in the preamble, of their earnest but vain solicitations of Mr. PYM, and the other commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, by Major WARREN, whom they had sent into England for that purpose; which had obliged them to seek redress of their grievances, by appealing to the King.

The remonstrance consists of eight articles; setting forth the agreement that had been made by the Parliament of England, by the Lord Lieutenant, and Council, that their pay should be made good; the services that had been performed by the army, at the frequent hazard of their lives; the strictness put upon them in musters upon oath, notwithstanding their starving condition; the privileges inseparable from their profession, of having military offences punishable only by martial law; the neglect of making up their accounts ever since they had been upon this service; the vast sums of money raised in England for them, and the small part which

CHARLES I. had been applied to their necessities; the loss which they suffered by the coin, in which the little pay they had was received, whilst others wanted not the confidence to advance their own fortunes by it; and the hard condition for them to venture their lives, if their arrears were to be answered in subscriptions, and not in money. This is the substance of the remonstrance: and in the conclusion they desire, that the Council would speedily make it appear there was a real care taken for their certain subsistence; or otherwise, since there was so small hope of assistance from the Parliament of England, that their Lordships would leave them to themselves to take such course as would best suit with the glory of God, the honour of the King, and their own urgent necessities.

A. 1643.

Whilst the Marquis of ORMONDE was sitting one day at the council-table, he was informed by the door-keeper, that some Officers of the army desired to speak with him. On his Lordship's going out, he found SR. FULK HUNCKS, Colonel GIBSON, and several others, who presented the remonstrance to him, signed by above forty of the principal Officers of the army, and desired him to deliver it to the Lords Justices and Council. He complied instantly with their request: but the Ministers endeavoured to put them off, as usual, with promises and fair words; which was a coin that would pass with them no longer. To shew some desire therefore of gratifying them, they issued out an order, that every one should bring in half their plate to be converted into money, for the present relief of the Officers of the army; and this order being ineffectual, they declared in council they would send in their own plate the next day. The members then at the board signed a writing to that effect; which was sent to the absent members by a messenger, for them to subscribe it likewise. The Bishop of MEATH was one of these; being seldom summoned to Council, on account of his opposition to the measures of the Ministry, as well in Parliament, as at the board. His Lordship telling the messenger, that he had no plate, and nothing but a few old gowns left to give, the Justices very readily caught at this answer, as a disrespect to their authority; and were determined to make him feel the weight of their resentment. Accordingly they summoned him to attend the board; and when he appeared, he was committed

mitted to the custody of one of the Sheriffs of Dublin. CHARLES I.
 The week following, the Bishop petitioned to be confined to his own house, on account of the trouble, and expence of his imprisonment, till they should think fit to order his enlargement. But this petition was rejected; and therefore he drew up a state of his case, and sent it over to the King. The issue of this application we are not told; but it appears by the sequel, that the Bishop of MEATH was in a short time an active member at the board, in opposition to PARSONS his great enemy. A. 1643.

The assistance given by the plate, was too small to relieve the necessities, and to quiet the minds of the officers of the army. Wherefore they made a second application Justices and Council: and despairing of relief from to the them, they drew up at the same time an address to the King; representing that their case was now become so desperate, through their fruitless applications to the English Parliament, "that unless his Majesty should interpose, they could not discover any thing that might stand betwixt them and absolute destruction." This address to the King was by no means agreeable to the two commissioners from the Parliament; so that when a pass was moved for at the board, for Major WOODHOUSE to go over with it to his Majesty, they took occasion to declare, that the Parliament would certainly withdraw their supplies, upon notice of such an address; and not only engaged the Ministers to refuse the pass, but, lest the Major should go without one, to lay an embargo on all ships in the harbour. The Officers seeing their design thus defeated, in two days after, Lord KILDARE, SR. FULK HUNCKS, and Colonel GIBSON, having obtained admittance to the Council, demanded a pass for Major WOODHOUSE to go into England with their address to the King. The embargo was taken off; and if they did not grant a pass, which is most probable, the Major got away without one, and delivered the address to the King at Oxford.

When the commissioners from the Parliament found that all their endeavours to seduce the Officers at Dublin were without effect, they made a visit to all the considerable garrisons in Leinster, to try if the same arguments would have the same ill success; and they were every where disappointed. They hoped however to derive a greater advantage to their negotiations, from another affair which happened at this time; in consequence of the petitions

CHARLES I. from the General Assembly to the King and Queen, already mentioned. The King, having considered the
A. 1643. circumstances and occasion, which had induced so great a body of nobility and gentry of English race to have recourse to arms; their repeated application for a cessation; their earnest desire of laying their grievances before him, and submitting to his determination; the blood that must be shed, and the ruin that would attend the kingdom if the war continued; the little care the Parliament had taken to send supplies, and the improbability then of sending any more; the inability that he was under to subsist the army, or to preserve his Protestant subjects from destruction, now the rebels had received such great assistance from abroad; the King, I say, considering these several incidents, directed a commission under the great seal of England, to empower the Marquis of ORMONDE, and five other Privy-Councillors, together with MR. BOURKE, a Roman Catholic Gentleman who carried over the commission, to have a meeting with the principal rebels that had signed the petition, and to receive in writing what they had to propose; transmitting it afterwards to his Majesty.

At the same time, the King sent a letter to the Lords Justices, to inform them of this commission, and to require them to assist in the execution of it. But these honest Ministers, instead of obeying the King's command, were more inclined to stop it, and to obey the commissioners of the English Parliament, who exclaimed loudly against it. No artifices, whether true or false, were omitted by them, in order to prejudice the people against it; and their suggestions were propagated with so much industry, and asserted with such confidence, that the Marquis of ORMONDE was obliged to shew the commission, and to refute the false reports that had been raised, to some of the Officers of the army, that he might prevent their ill effects. The commissioners had endeavoured to get some of these Officers, and of the inhabitants of Dublin, to sign a paper, expressing their discontent of the commission: but they could prevail with none, except persons of mean condition, and of the republican party; which then began to be called Roundheads. The chief support of that party, was Lord LISLE, son to the Lord Lieutenant; who, tho' no Privy-councillor, had, by the favour of the Justices, been always admitted to the board, even when
 matters

matters of the greatest consequence had been debated. CHARLES I.
 Lord ORMONDE had for a great while connived at this ;
 as thinking that Lord LISLE might be better able to contribute to the public service against the rebels : but when it appeared that he made use of that privilege, to obstruct the King's designs, and to promote those of the Parliament, the Marquis thought it his duty to inform his Majesty of it, and to advise him to direct his Ministers, no longer to assume a power, which he had not given them, of admitting persons unsworn to be present at the most private debates of the Council. Having received upon this advice a very severe reprimand from the King, for admitting GOODWYN and REYNOLDS, with an express command to the contrary, the Ministers thought fit to acquiesce ; and to signify to the commissioners that they could be no longer admitted. The commissioners were highly provoked at this exclusion from the Council ; where they had usurped the management of all affairs : and they broke out into language, not unsuitable to the pride and arrogance of REYNOLDS, which had made him extremely hated and despised. They had before this acted with some caution, in their endeavours to seduce the Officers of the army ; but now they openly solicited them, to oppose the execution of the commission, and to declare themselves for the Parliament. But being stripped of their power in the Council, which had lowered their influence out of it, they met with no success : and being furnished by the Lords Justices with one of the King's frigates, they went to the garrisons in the North of Ireland, where they succeeded better. They had good luck in leaving Dublin when they did ; because, in some few days after, a warrant came from the King to commit them to prison.

His Majesty would now have prevented the ill effects of the disaffection of his Ministers, by making the Marquis of ORMONDE Lord Lieutenant : but he declined it ; as thinking he could do the King better service in the way he was in, which was more agreeable to his inclinations. The latter reason was probably true, the former certainly could not ; and I draw that assertion from his Lordship's own letters. He had pressed the Earl of LEICESTER, before they had any quarrel, to hasten over as soon as possible ; " it being a great disadvantage to the public service, that the civil and military command was

CHARLES I. not in one person ;” and he had more than once complained to the King, of the obstruction to his measures from the Lords Justices having a power to abridge his command over the army. He had given a particular instance of the fatal effects of that power, in their not permitting him to pursue the rebels, according to the unanimous sense of a council of war, when they fled from Drogheda. But without this, it was obvious to common sense, that the difference to the King’s service must be very great, between having Ministers entirely devoted to him, and those who were entirely devoted to the English Parliament : and next to devolving the whole power and management of the Irish war upon that Parliament, it was the greatest fault in the King’s conduct with regard to Ireland, not to displace those Lords Justices, the first moment it was perceived that they were engaged in a faction against him. In truth, it contained the original error, to which all his subsequent errors there, and the thread of misfortunes which followed, are to be ascribed.

Whoever takes his idea of these Irish affairs, from what he meets with only in **RAPIN**, and the other writers in English history, will never understand them rightly. **RAPIN** is not content with the many opportunities that he hath, of very justly blaming the conduct of this King, but he seeks occasions of making him appear culpable, when there was no true foundation for it. His partiality is the more gross, and inexcusable, because, for the most part, it is unsupported by the authorities from which he writes. **RUSHWORTH**, and **CLARENDON**, are the only authors he quotes on Irish affairs : and tho’ the former may be depended upon, for the copies which he gives of all the public papers on both sides, yet the historical part of that author, who was a servant of the Parliament, is much to be suspected ; and in many particulars is absolutely false. For instance, in the case before us ; he says that the King, in his letter to the Lords Justices, commanded the removal of **GOODWYN**, and **REYNOLDS** out of Ireland ; which is not true. His Majesty’s letter, which in **CARTE**’s collection is given at length, requires only “ that they should not be permitted to sit at the council table, but if they have any business there, they should attend as others of their quality.” Had **RAPIN** taken this, and all the historical part of **RUSHWORTH** upon trust, whilst he questions every thing
said

said in favour of the King by Lord CLARENDON, his partiality would then have been too glaring not to be owned, But when an historian gives a turn to facts, which is not supported by the authority from which he writes, but is rather contradicted by it, he is much worse than partial; he is a false historian. Thus in the same paragraph in which MR. RAPIN hath said from RUSHWORTH, that the commissioners from the Parliament, were by the King's express order, sent back to England, he hath also said, "that one cannot help suspecting that the complaints of the officers of the want of men, money, ammunition, and provisions, were all a contrivance, to serve as a cloke for a cessation:" though these complaints had been made long before any cessation was thought of, and though in the passage following that from which this quotation was made in RUSHWORTH, there is a letter from the Lords Justices, whom he hath confessed to be on the side of the Parliament at that time, in which they tell the Speaker, "that the miseries of the officers and soldiers for want of all things were unspeakable, and all those wants made the more unsupportable by the want of food, which the Administration was not able to procure them." But to return to the history.

The Marquis of ORMONDE, and the other commissioners, having consulted together, a letter of summons was sent by a trumpet to Kilkenny, directed to the Lords GORMANSTON, MOUNTGARRET, IKERRIN, and seven others, or any two of them which had signed the petition to the King; in order that they should send their agents to Drogheda, to meet the commissioners, and to deliver in writing what they had to propound, that it might be transmitted to his Majesty. The two first of these were members of the Supreme Council; to whom the trumpet delivered the summons, and a safe conduct from the Lords Justices for the agents and their retinue. Lord ORMONDE, being apprehensive that the Catholic Clergy would oppose every step that led to peace, at the end of the summons added these premonitions; that none but Laymen should be employed as agents, that the number should not exceed thirty, and that they should treat the commissioners with that respect, which was due from such as were in the nature of petitioners, to those who were honoured with the King's commission. But the rebels, being elated with their late successes, and the advantageous prospect they had from their

CHARLES I. their present condition, returned a very slight, or rather a high toned answer.

A. 1643.

Lord CASTLEHAVEN being then at his brother's, and hearing a general account of the summons, and the answer that had been sent, repaired immediately to Kilkenny: "where finding his information true, he sent for those that were in the town, whom he knew to be well affected, and leading men in the assembly, tho' not of the Council; and having acquainted them with what he understood, he told them if they would stick to him, he would endeavour to give it a turn. They all agreed to his proposal; which was to go directly to the Council then sitting, and to remind them that the considerations concerning peace and war, were reserved by the General Assembly wholly to themselves; and therefore to require them, to send immediately a trumpet of their own to the Marquis of ORMONDE, to acquaint him that they had issued a summons for a General Assembly; in order to acknowledge the King's gracious favour, in naming him his Majesty's commissioner to hear and redress their grievances." The Council did not make much opposition; and reconsidering the matter, they wrote another letter, in which they made an apology for their former, and great professions of loyalty; "in which surely, there appeared nothing like the propositions of "actors and abettors in an odious rebellion:" and as they could not but resent these expressions, they insisted, that no such words should be inserted in any instrument directed to them; that they might have a copy of the commission; a more commodious place; and a competent time appointed for the meeting. The commissioners, on the receipt of the first letter, considering the great jealousies that were entertained of the Lords Justices, and imagining that the high resentment, expressed at the words in the safe conduct, arose from a notion they had conceived that those words were inserted without warrant, resolved to send an answer, with a copy of the commission; in which the words that stung them would be found, as well as in his Majesty's letter to the Lords Justices. The time and place they allowed might be varied, so as it might be with speed and conveniency; and they required an answer by the drum which carried the letter. The answer was returned accordingly; in which they made an apology for their resentment at the words to which they objected; renewed

renewed their professions of loyalty ; named six Laymen CHARLES for their agents ; and proposed the seventeenth of March for the day, and Trim for the place, of meeting. The A. 1643. commissioners sent an agreement to this proposal ; and assured them of a safe conduct, and a convoy from the Marquis of ORMONDE, to meet them on the road, and conduct them safe to Trim.

Whilst these points were settling, the Council resolved to send the army out into the field ; being in as much danger of perishing by their wants, as to be destroyed by the sword of the rebels. It hath already been observed that Lord ORMONDE proposed some months ago to the Council, an expedition to Wexford, in order to prevent the supplies expected by the rebels from landing there ; but this proposal was rejected, that the Lord Lieutenant, who was then expected over, might have the honour of it : and now, when their distresses drove them to send out the army for subsistence, the command was intended to be given to Lord LISLE, without any notice of the Marquis of ORMONDE. The Commissioners of the English Parliament had not then left Dublin ; and together with Captain TUCKER, agent from the London adventurers, had advanced five hundred pounds apiece for the expedition. The forces were ready to march, and Lord LISLE to put himself at their head : but the Lieutenant General, seeing himself treated with that indignity, declared to the Ministers, that as he was particularly entrusted by the King with the charge of the army, he could not let so considerable a part of it be sent abroad, without going with it himself ; and therefore if the expedition went on, of which he had been the first proposer, he was determined to take the command. The Ministers then grew very cool about the enterprize ; and the Parliament commissioners were for recalling their money : but TUCKER represented what an intolerable affront it would be, to put by the General a second time ; and if the expedition could not be undertaken, for want of the money which they had promised to furnish, they would be censured as hinderers of the public service ; which would be neither for their own reputation, nor for the honour of the Parliament which employed them. Upon this, an order was made in Council, that the intended expedition should be left wholly to the Lieutenant General, and the council of War ; notwithstanding any former debate, or resolution, taken at the board about it. The expedition being re-
solved

CHARLES I. resolved upon by that Council, the Ministers empowered Lord ORMONDE, to employ any ships on the coasts of the kindom, whilst the army was abroad for the public service; and tho' he was ordered to pursue the rebels with fire and sword, yet in case he could not gain sufficient provisions by that means for the army, he was allowed to receive voluntary relief from some of the rebels, by sparing from destruction such houses and places as he should think fit; but no longer than whilst the army was abroad in this expedition.

A. 1643.

On the second of March, the Marquis left Dublin, with three thousand men, two battering cannon, and four field pieces; and having taken three or four castles as they passed along, he made a halt at Carlow for the carriages to come up, and for the ship to arrive at Duncannon, which the Ministers were to send him with bread and ammunition. It being resolved in the Council of war to besiege Rosse, he sat down before it on the twelfth, and immediately planted a battery to make a breach. There were only two companies of foot in the place; but the rebels being encamped with four thousand men, within three miles of it on the other side of the Barrow, they threw five hundred men into it that night, and on the day after, fifteen hundred more. The Marquis had left instructions in writing for the master of the ship, which was to bring him the provision and ammunition; and he was surprised to find it was not yet arrived. But the Justices, not approving the man whom the Marquis's agent had recommended, and appointing another who could not be ready in several days, the opportunity of a fair wind was lost, which added to the delay, and this delay not only permitted the enemy to send supplies into the town, which otherwise must have been taken in four and twenty hours, but greatly distressed the army, through want of provision and ammunition; incommoded enough otherwise with continual rains. In this vexatious situation, the Marquis sent to Lord ESMOND, governour of Duncannon, for a supply; who readily sent him all that he could spare, with two little barks, to be employed as the General should think fit. But the rebels having raised a battery on the other side of the river, which did great execution on these vessels, that had annoyed the town with their shot, the crews not being able, on account of the wind, to bring them off, sunk them both, and joined the army.

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The Marquis, seeing no likelihood of his supply from CHARLES I. Dublin, and his cannon having made a breach, determined on an assault. A. 1643. SR. FULK HUNCKS, and Major MORRICE, had the management of that service: but the besieged being very numerous, and having stopped up the breach with wool packs, the assailants were repulsed with some loss, and the Major was dangerously wounded. PRESTON, in the mean time, having advanced with an army of six thousand men within two miles of Rosse, to a pass thro' which Lord ORMONDE must retreat, and there being but three days provisions left for the English, it was resolved in a council of war to raise the siege, and to march towards the enemy. Lord CASTLEHAVEN, the Lieutenant General of the horse, is very short in his account of this engagement, which is called the battle of Rosse: but he differs very widely from the account given by CARTE from a manuscript relation of it by SR. F. WILLOUGHBY, Major General of the English army; the former saying, that PRESTON, not having the patience to expect the enemy, went over the pass to them, upon which the Marquis seized the advantage, and gave him no time to form his army into battle, but charged still as they went over; and the latter affirming, "that though the Marquis observed the rebels to quit their quarters, and advance towards him, yet he likewise observed to the Major General, that he imagined they intended to fight, their army being drawn up in order of battle: and when the Marquis proceeded to the attack, the enemy were before them standing in battalia, in a large field surrounded with ditches, not far from a great bog, over one of which ditches he was obliged to pass, in order to attack them in the field in which they were drawn up." The Major General probably drew up his relation, soon after the battle; Lord CASTLEHAVEN his, not till forty years after: the former enhanced the victory of his party, by representing the advantageous situation of the enemy; the latter exculpated the defeat of his side, by shewing that the management of their General, had made it impossible to prevent it. So prevalent is the love of glory, and so frail is human nature! They both agree however, that the rebels were routed with great loss; and that if PRESTON had not quitted the pass, he must either have starved the English army, or have destroyed them without any hazard.

Lord

CHARLES I. Lord LISLE was the commander of the horse in that battle, by whom the engagement was began; and mingling with that of the enemy, and flashing one another for some time, both the bodies went off together out of sight, no body knew whither, leaving the foot on each side not yet engaged. CARTE insinuates very strongly that Lord LISLE did not do his duty; either to lessen the General's glory in not gaining a complete victory, or to prevent the rebels from being obliged to sue for peace. To whatever motive it was owing, that the General had no horse to pursue and destroy the foot, whom he had put to flight, it is certain that a fair opportunity was thereby lost, of giving the rebels, who were the flower of the Leinster army, such a blow as they would not have recovered for a long time. As soon as they had reached beyond the Barrow, PRESTON ordered the bridge to be broken down, in order to prevent any further pursuit. He had not above five hundred men killed in the action, but many of these were officers, and persons of quality; and he lost all his baggage, and ammunition. The number of the killed, and wounded, in the English army, was very inconsiderable. But had it been harrassed in their march home, which if the bridge had not been broken down, it would have been easy for PRESTON's army to have done, considering the small provision left, and the many straights, and woods, and stony passages they had to go through, the rebels might have taken ample revenge for the loss they had suffered in the battle. The Marquis of ORMONDE in his return, having burned and spoiled the enemies country without any opposition, continued his march, for want of provisions for men and horses, with all speed to Dublin. The distress was then so great in that city, that the Council were obliged to expel all strangers, and to send over to England several thousands, whose maintenance there was insupportable. They made a fresh search into the stores of the Merchants, and took away by force all the commodities which they found, and had not been seized before. This was all the shift they could make: yet this was so far from relieving the necessities of the army, that several officers presented a paper to the board, demanding money for their pay, and victuals for their soldiers, in a stile little short of mutiny. But it is time now to look into the other provinces.

The state of Munster, at the end of the preceding year, hath been already related; and its circumstances since
were

were little mended. Lord INCHQUIN, the Vice-President, had received no supplies from England, except a regiment without any arms, which he thought were sent only to accelerate his ruin ; bringing neither money, nor provision, nor even the hopes of either. He had sent agent after agent to the Parliament, in order to set forth the distress of the province, and to solicit succour ; yet none was sent : nor could he possibly have subsisted the forces under him, if the Irish had not supplied the markets, and if he had not been very industrious, with the help of some neutral people, to save some corn about Mallow, and Donneraile. But this supply failing, and no hopes of any from England, he applied to the Ministers at Dublin for some provision. The Ministers, considering his great distress, ordered six hundred barrels of salt herrings to be shipped for Munster ; and S^R. P. PERCIVAL, commissary of the stores, paid the freight and other charges. But before the ship could sail, the wants of their own army encreased so much, that the Ministers were obliged to order it to be unloaded, and the herrings to be distributed to the soldiers in and about Dublin ; to the loss of the charges that had been paid, and to the discontent of the Munster army.

The Vice-President, being thus left without any means of preserving his men from starving, or disbanding, was forced to seize all the magazines of tobacco, belonging to the farmers of that commodity—who had nothing for it till after the restoration—and to sell it to the Irish, for money, or cattle. This, with a small supply of provisions which he received from Bristol, enabled him to hold out till the middle of February ; when thinking the loss of the province to be inevitable, and fearing the ruin of many thousand Protestants, it was resolved in a council of war, to cause the ships of Lord FORBES's Squadron, in the harbour of Kinsale, to be stayed and drawn ashore ; that they might be ready to receive, and transport those people to England, who must otherwise have been exposed either to the sword or famine. Besides, it was intended to search these ships for arms and ammunition ; of both which Lord FORBES pretended he had little to spare, though ordered by the Parliament to furnish the Munster forces with them ; and though a great deal of powder was wantonly lavished at Kinsale, as healths were drank at an entertainment, by one of the Captains, when

CHARLES I. when the province was likely to be lost for want of ammunition.

A. 1643. The distress of the province for provisions at this time was so great, that notwithstanding the Vice-President had taken all their money from the citizens of Cork, and caused all the cattle, corn, and other commodities, that could be found in the counties adjacent to the garrisons, and which had never offended them but had supplied their markets, to be taken from the inhabitants and distributed to the soldiers, yet all this was insufficient : and, enforced by that necessity which confounds all laws, and makes no distinction between friend and foe, he soon after seized all the effects that were left of the Merchants of Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, and shipped their wool, hides, tallow, and other goods for France, that they might be sold, or bartered for corn, to relieve the army. He gave the owners indeed certificates of the value of their effects, in order to be paid by the English Parliament, as it was usual in such necessitous cases ; but the Parliament refused to pay them. This however being his last resource in Ireland, Lord INCHQUIN once more applied to that Parliament, in a letter to the Speaker which he sent by one of his officers ; wherein he said, that his army “ were then upon so extreme an exigent, as that unless it please GOD to put into your hearts an effectual sense of our miseries, and to dispose you to a speedy course for our sudden relief, I fear the next news you will shortly hear will be the total loss of this province, and that our approaching ruin will prevent any further request to be made herein.” But his Lordship soon learnt, how little supply was to be expected from them : the officers who were sent from the army in Leinster, declared at the Council board at their return, that tho’ they had attended in London above two months, yet they had never been able to prevail on the Commissioners for Irish affairs to have a meeting, and when they pressed some of them for money for their subsistence, they were told by one of the principal men of that body, “ that if five hundred pounds only would save Ireland it would not be spared,” and by another, “ that they had not leisure to step over the threshold for Ireland.” Lord INCHQUIN therefore had no great reason to expect such a relief, as was sufficient for the great necessities of his province ; and it was some months before he heard any thing from the Parliament.

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The province of Conaught was in the same deplorable condition. The reader hath already seen the violent and imprudent conduct of Captain WILLOUGHBY, the Governor of the fort of Galway; and how much it added to the trouble and uneasiness of Lord CLANRICARDE, to keep things quiet between the fort and the town. But now all his influence, and his care, were not sufficient to prevent, the mad proceedings of WILLOUGHBY on the one side, and the disaffection, and resentment, of the townsmen on the other. His Lordship saw the consequence of an open rupture, and he did all that was in the power of man to do to preserve the peace. But when BOURKE arrived at Galway, who was appointed by the Catholic Assembly their Lieutenant General in that province, Lord CLANRICARDE's power was greatly abridged, and he himself in no small danger. BOURKE was a native of the county of Mayo, had many relations there and in the county of Galway, and having been abroad in foreign service above thirty years, was much esteemed for his experience, and skill in military affairs. To this was added, a great opinion of his zeal, and piety in religion; which made many adhere to him, and desert from Lord CLANRICARDE, of those whose firmness and affection his Lordship had before been very confident. The Priests too at this time, having such a leader, began to exert themselves in fulminating the censures of the church, against those who refused the oath of association, and to join in the common cause. In vain were the oath of allegiance, and the duty of loyalty to the King, urged to the contrary: and all such as would not be guilty of perjury or rebellion, by acting contrary to these obligations, were by the titular bishop of CLONFERT, and other ecclesiasticks, declared guilty of a mortal sin, and involved in the sentence of excommunication. What with the influence of the Romish Clergy, and the mad behaviour of the Governor of the fort, the rebels were encouraged to besiege it, under Colonel BOURKE, in the beginning of May. It had been well supplied in the winter by Lord CLANRICARDE for some months; a ship had also brought fresh supplies from Dublin; and WILLOUGHBY had money, and plate, and other commodities, to traffick with among the ships that came there; and might have furnished himself plentifully with all necessaries. But instead of that, he was so ill a manager of the provisions he had, and had lavished

CHARLES I. away so much powder in his useleſs furious canonading of the town, for two or three months, that when the ſiege
 A. 1643. was formed, he had neither provision, nor ammunition, for more than a month.

On the fourth of May, he wrote to a Lieutenant of Lord CLANRICARDE's, that he had provisions in the fort for three months at full allowance, and if neceſſity required, could make it ſerve four : yet in eight days afterwards, he wrote to his Lordſhip himſelf, " that they were much endangered in the fort by famine ; and if they had not ſpeedy help by land or ſea, within a month at fartheſt, they ſhould not be able to ſubſiſt." But Lord CLANRICARDE had neither provisions ſufficient, nor forces to convey them ; nor was it poſſible to ſupply the fort by ſea, unleſs with a great fleet, and land forces. His Lordſhip ſent an expreſs with this account to the Miniſtry ; and he entered into a treaty with BOURKE, to have it ſurrendered into his own hands inſtead of thoſe of the town, as well knowing the conſequence. But their conditions with his Lordſhip were, that he ſhould join the Catholic union ; and if he did not take the oath of aſſociation, he ſhould ſwear not to place any but a Catholic Governor and a gariſon of natives into the fort, approved of by their General and the Corporation, nor deliver it up without their conſent, upon any pretence whatever, till a general peace was concluded : and whiſt they were offering theſe conditions to his Lordſhip, BOURKE was treating with the Governor for the poſſeſſion of it ; which in two days after was accordingly given him, and by order of the Supreme Council it was ſoon after demolished.

There is ſomething very unaccountable in the behaviour of Captain WILLOUGHBY from firſt to laſt : and had he been employed to traverse the meaſures of Lord CLANRICARDE, and to provoke the town and country to revolt, which his Lordſhip was taking ſo much pains to keep in obedience, he could not have acted a more proper part. Nor is it leſs ſtrange that the Lords Juſtices, ſhould never once in their answers to his Lordſhip, take any notice at all of his reiterated complaints, and very ſtrong remonſtrances, againſt WILLOUGHBY's conduct, nor remove him from his command. To this negligence of theirs, and to this only, muſt be imputed the loſs of the ſecond fort of importance in the kingdom. For if Lord CLANRICARDE had been entrusted with it, as he ought to have been, it had not then, if ever, been in the hands of
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the rebels. But the loss of this place threatened the loss of the whole province : and if the artifices or power of the Catholic Clergy could have imposed upon or terrified Lord CLANRICARDE, or if the Gentlemen of the county of Galway could have been drawn from the affection they had to him, and the confidence they reposed in his good judgment and example, which taught them to prefer allegiance to perjury, and the punishment of excommunication to rebellion, the loss of the fort of Galway must have put the whole province into the power of the confederates. With the fort of Galway, his Lordship's castle of Oranmore situated on the bay, was also surrendered ; as his castle of Clare, the chief place of strength and importance that he had to curb the town and adjacent country, by the deceit and practices of a Franciscan friar, had been some time before.

CHARLES I.

A. 1643.

Many of his Lordship's followers having been terrified at their exclusion out of the church, unless they took oaths unlawful and contradictory, he published a direction, that they should repair to their spiritual guide, and demand of him to declare in writing under his hand, and the hand of their bishop of CLONFERT, "whether, notwithstanding their former oaths, they be bound in conscience under pain of mortal sin, and incurring the censure of excommunication if denounced, to take the oath of association ; and that his answer be clear, and without evasion, and for the clearer intelligence that he inserts his reasons." To this the Bishop published by way of reply, that notwithstanding their oath of allegiance, they were bound under the pain of mortal sin to take the oath of association, and in default were liable to the censure of excommunication fulminated against the refusers of it ; "BECAUSE the emission of the oath, in itself both lawful and necessary, is commanded, upon great deliberation, by the Church, in a matter of weight, and approved by his Holiness." The oath of association could not be approved by the Pope, when it was first framed, and enjoined under the penalty of excommunication : but whether it was so approved or not, can any man read this declaration from a Christian prelate in favour of perjury and rebellion, and not be shocked at the impiety of setting up the Church above the Gospel, and the approbation of the Pope above that of GOD ? But this is a further confirmation of what hath been observed, that no oaths nor ob-

CHARLES I. ligations are to stand in competition with the interest of that religion.

A. 1643.

As the rebels in that part of the province grew stronger, Lord CLANRICARDE's difficulties were multiplied; and he saw all means of safety still impairing, by the sudden and unexpected departure of the President, and the English commanders: the former going to defend himself against an accusation, as it hath been mentioned, and the latter following him to support it. Lord RANELAGH had been a second time blocked up in Athlone; and the forces in those parts were reduced to great extremities. To relieve these in some measure, the Council were obliged to spare them some provision, clothes, and ammunition; and SR. R. GRENVILLE, with about a thousand men, went as a convoy with this supply. The rebels attempted to intercept it; but he forced his way through them, and delivered the provisions to the President. The soldiers there had long suffered under grievous hardships, which they had borne in expectation of some relief; but seeing all their succours consisted in a small quantity of clothing and ammunition, without corn, and without money, they were exceedingly discontented; and resolved to stay no longer in a country, to which they seemed to have been sent only to starve. SR. MICH. ERNLY, with some other officers, and about six hundred of their men, took up this resolution; and the President, not caring to be cooped up any longer within the walls of a castle, and hoping by his representations to procure some relief for that province against the rebels, determined to take the opportunity of that convoy to go to Dublin. SR. R. GRENVILLE in his march back, was met by a body of the rebels of above three thousand, which he defeated, and took PRESTON's son, and several other officers, prisoners.

Lord CLANRICARDE had kept, tho' with difficulty, most of the principal Gentry of the county of Galway in his interest; and Lord MAYO had traversed the measures of Lieutenant General BOURKE, by opposing his command of the forces of that county: but yet the rebels raised a very considerable force, and marched under the command of that General, to reduce the castles in the county of Roscommon; which, except two towns of Lord CLANRICARDE's, were all that held out against them in the province of Conaught. Lord THOMOND was generally deserted by all the Gentry of his county, who joined with those of Munster; tho' he had tried all
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the ways he could think of to keep them in their obedience: but they avouched all their actions to be warranted by the King;" and such, he told Lord CLANRICARDE in a letter, " was the incredulity of their countrymen, that he conceived if the King were himself there in person, to declare his detestation of their courses, they would not believe it." This will give us an idea of the power of the Popish Clergy, and to what a length their people carried the submission of their consciences and understandings.

In the last account of affairs in the province of Ulster, at the end of the foregoing year, it was observed that O'NEIL was employed in raising, and disciplining his army; and that MONROE did nothing with the Scotch and English forces under his command, but ravage the country, and carry off droves of cattle: and as they continued in the same inactivity with regard to the war, till the beginning of May, there is nothing more to be said of that province in this place, and we must now turn to see what was the issue of the commission above mentioned for receiving the grievances of the rebels.

Whilst Lord ORMONDE was on the expedition which ended in the battle of Rosse, the Earls of CLANRICARDE, and ROSCOMMON, the Lord MOORE, and SR. MAU. EUSTACE, Commissioners for the King, on the seventeenth of March, met at Trim with Lord GORMANSTON, and three other agents for the confederate Catholics; from whom they received in writing a remonstrance of their grievances, and a desire that they might be redressed. Besides a long preamble, and conclusion, this remonstrance consists of fourteen articles; and the whole takes up almost ten pages in folio in CARTE's collection. The reader therefore, it is hoped, will not expect to find it here at full length; nor would it give him any great pleasure, to see a repetition mostly of what hath already occurred, in some parts or other of this work. Indeed it must rather fill him with indignation, to see men of their character, and rank, so entirely lost to all sense of shame, and honour, as to advance, in their excuse for this rebellion, falsehoods as notorious as the rebellion itself was true.

In the very first sentence of this remonstrance, they tell the King, that they were " necessitated to take arms for the preservation of their religion, the maintenance of his Majesty's rights, and prerogatives, the natural and just defence of their lives, and estates, and the liber-

CHARLES I. ties of their country." There was something so impudent in this assertion, which the King himself knew to be false in every part, as was enough to deter him from reading any further, or to prejudice him against all that followed. It was known to the whole world, that they were not troubled nor questioned about their religion, for a considerable time before the insurrection; and that there were no other opponents in Ireland, of his Majesty's rights, and prerogatives, besides themselves; who had usurped them to that degree, as to make it an act of their General assembly, that there should be no other temporal government, or jurisdiction, but what was approved, or instituted by them; and other things already mentioned. As to their lives, and estates, they had the protection of the laws; and not a single instance could be given, that a Papist, merely as such, suffered any violence in either from a Protestant, that was not punished, except in open rebellion, when this insurrection broke out. The King had said in his commission above mentioned, of which the confederate Catholics had a copy, that he did extremely detest the odious rebellion, which they had, without ground, or colour, raised against him, his Crown, and dignity: and in their preamble they politely tell him, that they never entertained any rebellious thought against either, and insist upon their having been always his most faithful and loyal subjects. In short, almost all the truth in this long remonstrance, either concerned the Protestants as well as the Papists in Ireland, and therefore was no sufficient ground for the insurrection of the latter, or else relates to facts posterior to it, which they would make the King believe were the causes of their rebellion. It is difficult to say, whether there is more weakness, or falshood, in this long laboured instrument: there is much of both; and it seems indeed to verify the character which hath been given of it, "that the Irish first resolved to rebel, and then set their Lawyers and Divines to work, in order to fish for arguments to justify or excuse it." When the Marquis of ORMOND returned from the battle of Rosse, he received this remonstrance from the other Commissioners, which he immediately sent to the King; tho' he thought the propositions made in it unreasonable, and contrary to his Majesty's service.

The Lords Justices, and their party, had taken the advantage of the Marquis's absence on that expedition,
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to draw up a long letter to the King ; with an intention CHARLES I.
to dissuade him from a peace with the rebels, which they
apprehended would be the consequence of his sending
the commission above mentioned. It must be confessed
A. 1643.
that there is more truth, and artifice, in this letter, than
in the remonstrance, the length of which is nearly equal ;
but the rage of resentment, and the want of candour, and
benevolence, are too visible and strong in both. Such a
letter as this, was proposed in Council by the Justices,
immediately on receiving the King's commission, but they
found only two of the Members of their opinion ; eleven
others being against it, or silent at least upon it. But
Lord ORMONDE being absent with the army, tho' it was
two months after that debate, the Ministers resumed it,
and produced the letter ready drawn ; which with a little
opposition from some of the Members of the Council,
was agreed to, and sent. The work of extirpation had
by this time appeared so very difficult, that the term be-
gan to be worn out ; and the prime authors of that scheme
were ashamed of acknowledging such an intention. It
was expressly disclaimed in this letter, tho' there were
pretty strong insinuations leading to the same point ; and
they affirmed in so many words, " that there can be no
way to bring on a safe and lasting peace, till the sword
have abated these rebels, in number, and power."

The Marquis of ORMONDE being informed of this let-
ter, of which he did not approve, proposed in Council at
his return, to send a true representation to the King, of
the miserable condition, and the wants of the army ;
which, without a speedy supply, must in a few months
disband, or perish. The Ministers rejected this motion ;
though it was of the greatest importance to the King's
service. But Lord ORMONDE being determined that
the King should not be kept in the dark, in a matter
which it was highly requisite for him to know, called
such of the Council to him, then in town, as he thought
faithful to his Majesty, and they joined in a letter to him
on the first of April : in which, having set before him
their real state, they concluded with an advice, " that if
considerable supplies of money, munition, and victuals,
were not sent to them within a month or two, or if his Ma-
jesty did not in the mean time give directions what to do, in
case they failed of that supply, his army there, themselves,
and the rest of the Protestants of that kingdom should perish
and be consumed." This letter contained a much more fa-

CHARLES I. vourable account of the distresses of the State, which grew nearer to destruction every day, and of the extremities of the army which were still encreasing, than the Ministers themselves gave of either, in their letters to the Parliament, at that time: And finding the Lord ORMONDE, and some of the Council, had sent such a representation to the King, in three days after, they sent the same account to his Majesty, which they had given then to the Speaker of the English Parliament. To give them their due, they had not been wanting in very frequent and strong remonstrances to that body, of the extremities to which they had been reduced, and the want in which they stood of the most speedy plentiful supplies. But all their letters, importunities, and prayers, produced no other return, than what shewed that the Parliament were determined to be at no further expence in reducing the Irish rebels.

A. 1643.

The Marquis of ORMONDE had the greatest difficulty imaginable, to keep the Officers of the army from going to England; and it would have been impossible to do any service, or to prevent the necessitous Soldiers from committing disorders, when those that should govern them were gone, or even detained with so much reluctance. In order to engage them to march on the expedition to Rosse, the Ministers had promised to do them justice; but those promises had been attended with no effect. This treatment had made them outrageous; and the Parliament meeting at Dublin on the twentieth of April, they drew up a petition to the House of Lords, which was presented by Lord LAMBERT. Having represented that they were employed in suppressing the rebellion of that kingdom, by commission from the King, with the agreement and establishment of the English Parliament, and though they had endured more penury than could be expected from them, with unwearied patience, yet their hopes of relief from them, and from the State of Ireland, had been fruitless; and at the last gasp they had recourse therefore to the care and justice of that house. They proceed then to complain, that though several sums of money had been sent over expressly for the use of the army, yet on a fair examination it will appear, that they have not been issued, according to the intentions of the King, and the Parliament of England; and that a great sum may yet be found in the hands of responsible men. In the next place they complain, that the small payments
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that have been made to the army, have been in a coin CHARLES I.
A. 1643. which hath defrauded them of a great deal, through want of value, and want of weight; and that the Council board had refused to examine MR. LOFTUS about it. They say further, "that there were some of his Majesty's rights applied to the use of private persons, as well as divers custodiams round the city; the benefits of which might be applied to the use of the army. They therefore entreat their Lordships, to call the Vice-Treasurer and his agents, to give an account of all the money sent out of England, and issued there, since the rebellion first began; and out of the estates of the persons offending, to give a present relief to the army, which groans under the burden of these wrongs, and their extreme wants; and for which, if there could not be a subsistence in that kingdom, they should be forced to quit it, and abandon the service." This petition was signed by all the Colonels of regiments then in Dublin, except Lord LISLE, and Lord LAMBERT who presented it, and by all the other considerable Officers of the army.

The House had received a complaint from them about the coin, in the August session, and had addressed the Administration to give them relief; but none had yet been given them. The Ministers indeed had then lately promised the officers, to yield to a legal hearing of their complaints contained in their petition: but when they found that it was intended to apply to Parliament, they resolved to prorogue it. Therefore when the House was entering upon the consideration of the petition, the Chancellor informed them, that he had received a commission from the Lords Justices, to prorogue the session of Parliament to November. The Lords, conceiving the petition to be of great importance, in which the subsistence of the army, and the safety of the kingdom was concerned, ordered the Lords ROSCOMMON, and LAMBERT, as a committee of the House, to repair to the Justices, and desire them to suspend the execution of that commission; that they might consider the particulars whereof complaint was made. The Justices answered that they would not suspend the prorogation; having issued out the commission upon important reasons, moving the whole Council to that resolution. But several Peers then in the House, who were Privy-Councillors, affirming that they were strangers to any such reasons, it was thought fit, considering the necessity

CHARLES necessity of giving satisfaction to the army at that time, to address the Justices and Council for those reasons : And
A. 1643. the Justices alone, to whom this petition had been communicated, refused to suspend the execution of the commission, or to gratify the House with the reasons for the prorogation. The Lords were very reasonably disgusted at this treatment : and it was ordered, that the Lord Chancellor should write a letter to the Secretary of State, accompanying the petition of the Officers, shewing the motives that induced the House to desire time to take it into consideration, the endeavours they had used to gain it, and the necessity of giving speedy relief in the matters contained in the said petition : and the Lords ORMONDE, ROSCOMMON, and LAMBERT, were directed to peruse, and approve the letter. As soon as this order was made, the Parliament was prorogued. The letter however was drawn, approved of, and sent ; and with it a petition from the Officers to the King, complaining that his Ministers “ had made his power the refuge of the injuries done to the army, in proroguing the Parliament for no other reason, as they conceived, than for the protection of such persons, as had been the chief instruments of the ruin, and unsupportable miseries, under which the army, and his loyal subjects in Ireland, groaned.” The King was much surprised and offended at the prorogation, of which the Ministers had not given him any account ; and having ordered the Secretary to write to Lord ORMONDE about it, he issued out a commission to enquire into the abuses that were complained of.

This arbitrary prorogation was one of the last acts of **SR. W. PARSONS**, in the office of Lord Justice : and I presume the reader will be of opinion, that he ought to have been dismissed long before. Though the King did not know of all his unfaithful practices in the Administration, yet his Majesty knew enough to convince him, that **PARSONS** was more the Minister of the English Parliament, than his Minister ; and that instead of healing the breach with the rebels, by his violent measures he had made it wider. In short he knew that Lord ORMONDE, in whom he had placed an absolute confidence, had been frequently controuled by this Lord Justice, both at the Council, and in the command of the army. Even the last circumstance alone, if the Councils of this King had
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not been under an infatuation, should have determined **CHARLES I.** him to displace a man, who made so ill an use of his power. The Marquis of **ORMONDE** had given frequent, and plain intimations of this abuse, though he had not said half of what he knew; And if there is any fault to be found in the conduct of that Nobleman, throughout the whole period of which I am writing, it was his submitting too long to the insolence and infidelity of this Minister. His Lordship had so much, and so deservedly, the King's ear in every thing, that he could not doubt of his influence with his Majesty: and the King's service, his own dignity, and the welfare of his country, made it his duty to procure the dismissal of a Minister, whose measures were opposite to them all. A. 1643.

The Marquis of **ORMONDE** was a man of such shining parts, so many exemplary virtues, and of such uncommon, and distinguished merit in his public character, that it is with extreme reluctance that I accuse him of any fault. Let me palliate this however with observing, that perfection is not the lot of mortals; and that even this fault perhaps was owing more to the influence of his virtue, than to any neglect of his duty, or a want of ability to understand it. Of all the King's servants in that country, the Marquis, as having more of his Majesty's favour, more authority, and a higher rank than the rest, was most the object of the jealousy, and the spite of **SR. W. PARSONS**; and was more frequently, and personally affronted by him. From a true greatness of mind therefore, Lord **ORMONDE** might be induced not to become the instrument of this man's disgrace. Such lenity and forbearance in private life, where one's self alone is concerned, is a most amiable temper of mind, and the chief characteristick of the Christian Spirit: and in calm and quiet times, even in affairs which relate to the publick, when the injury is not very great, if such a temper is not laudable, it is scarcely culpable. But in times like those then in Ireland, where the power of a chief Minister had been the source of so much desolation, and more was every day to be feared, there lenity and forbearance were no virtues: a bad man escaped disgrace, and the public injuries were not redressed.

Even when **PARSONS** was turned out, his colleague **BORLASE** was continued, and was first in the commission with **SR. H. TITCHBORN**, as Lords Justices; who were sworn

CHARLES I. sworn into that office, and had the sword delivered them, on the first of May. It is said in excuse for this measure, that **BORLASE** was thought to be an insignificant man, who had submitted blindly to the directions of the other. But I presume to think this no excuse at all. The then circumstances of that kingdom, made an insignificant Minister, a very improper one: the times required an active, and an able man; and his blind submission to measures, prejudicial to his Majesty's service, and pernicious to his country, should have been attended with punishment, and not promotion. There were faithful, and able men enow then to be found—more faithful, and more able than **BORLASE**—without employing him, or without taking away **SR. H. TITCHBORN** from the army; in which he had done very signal services, and which stood in great need then of such commanders. There was too good an excuse however at this time, for the weak and ill-judged counsels of the English Court: the King should have left the whole business of Ireland, as he was soon after obliged to do, in a great measure, to the Marquis of **ORMONDE**; who was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs, and people of Ireland, whose estate lay in it, who made his loyalty a part of his religion, and than whom there was not an honest, nor an abler man of his time. So few such were then to be found—I wish there were many now—that it must be owned I dwell with pleasure upon his character: and if the reader hath not the same pleasure, the reason is too invidious to be pointed out. But in an age of selfishness, and inattention, like the present, there is an utility, as well as a pleasure, in holding out such examples, to reform, and teach it.

The Gentlemen of the Pale, who had submitted to the Administration at Dublin, or to Lord **ORMONDE** in the field, though they had never been concerned in any hostile act, had been now confined above a year in prison, and indicted of high treason. It will be no impeachment of our candour to suppose, that there was too much hurry in finding such indictments, when we know that above a thousand were found in two days time; and that there was not the fairest and most unsuspected evidence for the finding them, when we are told by the Marquis of **ORMONDE**, that a letter was read in Council, from a person “who claimed a merit in getting some hundreds of Gentlemen

tlemen indicted, having laid out sums of money to procure witnesses to give evidence for the finding these indictments." But be this at it might. The prisoners above mentioned, to the number of fourteen, petitioned both the King, and Parliament of England, that they might be set at liberty, and freed from the danger of their lives and estates; having never committed any hostility, nor had their hands in the blood, or spoil of any. These petitions they sent to the Marquis of ORMONDE to be transmitted; and relying upon his honour, to attest the truth, and to mediate in their behalf. His Lordship did not fail them in any respect; and though his conduct had been so unexceptionable, that he stood outwardly at least as yet very fair with most of the English Parliament, yet his recommendation of these Gentlemen was without effect, and it was not till four months afterward, that they were admitted to bail.

CHARLES I.

A. 1643.

The King having conceived no hopes of a general submission, from the extravagant propositions in the remonstrance, delivered by the rebels at Trim, and considering the condition of his affairs then, as well here as in Ireland, about the latter end of April, sent a commission to Lord ORMONDE, to treat and agree with the confederate Catholics, upon a cessation of arms for one year. But before we enter upon his Lordship's proceedings in that business, I shall give the reader a view of the state of the several provinces; in order to enable him to form a judgment, whether there was any necessity for such a cessation, when it was concluded, as the King and his friends asserted, or whether it was agreed on, as his enemies represented, to strengthen the King's hands in his war against the Parliament. The reader must take notice however, that the honour of the King in sending this commission, depends on the situation of things at that time, and of which a view hath been given already: if he thinks this was distressful enough to require such a cessation, as the Parliament had neglected sending any relief, the King will be justified in taking this step. The view that is now to be given, is in order to judge of the expedience or inexpedience of the cessation when it was concluded, which was near six months after the date of the commission; and will rather vindicate the honour, or confirm the disgrace, of Lord ORMONDE, and his friends, than of the King.

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CHARLES I.

A. 1643.

The miserable condition of affairs then at Dublin, and the extremity to which the army there had been reduced, have been already mentioned; though not in that forcible and pathetic manner, in which they were set forth in the letter of the Lords Justices to the English Parliament. In the province of Leinster, which was under their own care, PRESTON was not so defeated at the battle of Rosse, but that he was able soon to rally his forces, and to fit down before Ballynekill, with four hundred foot, and five hundred horse. It was a castle of considerable strength, within eight miles of Kilkenny; and the garrison annoyed the enemy very much, with their frequent excursions to the walls of that city. The inhabitants, being uneasy at their continual losses, pressed the siege might be undertaken; and offered a plentiful supply of bread. Colonel CRAWFORD was sent from Dublin, with about fifteen hundred men, to endeavour to raise the siege. This is CARTE's account; but Lord CASTLEHAVEN says, that he was besieging a castle of Lord CLAMNALEER, and that his Lordship himself was sent by PRESTON to dislodge him; but they both agree that the Colonel was grievously wounded in his retreat, and that Ballynekill was surrendered. A small quantity of provisions being secured, SR. MICH. ERNLY was sent afterwards on the same service, with a stronger party; but found the place had been given up, and PRESTON marched with his army to Westmeath. Lord ORMONDE, upon receiving advice of this, sent a reinforcement to ERNLY; and ordered him, in case PRESTON besieged any garrison, to watch his best opportunity to distress him, with as little hazard as possible: but if he should retire, ERNLY was to prepare for the taking of Ballysonan; for which the Marquis promised to send him ammunition, and all other necessities. However upon examining the stores, there was so little powder left, and it being considered that there was not then a great deal of forage on the ground for the horse, the orders for the attack were countermanded, till they had received a supply of powder, and the grass was more grown. The orders were then renewed; and an addition made to them, to keep the army abroad as long as possible. But instead of this, ERNLY in a week's time brought them back to Dublin; alledging that he could not undertake such services with soldiers in such a condition; many of them without shoes, the others so disabled with fatigues that

that they could not march in their ranks, and all, from **CHARLES** L. their distresses, were not to be commanded. Another A. 1643- part of the army there had been sent out under Lord **MOORE** ; but they had met with so little success in getting prey for their subsistence, that he was obliged to return soon into garrison, for want of forage, and bread. Lord **LAMBERT** had marched, at the end of May, for the same purpose into Wicklow ; and having traversed thirty miles of the country, returned with seven hundred cows, and fifteen hundred sheep. Colonel **WILLOUGHBY** made another inroad into the same county, with good success : but these actions distressed friends as well enemies ; and served only to keep the army in and about Dublin a little longer alive, and to defer their disbanding for want of food.

The state of the province of Munster to the end of April, hath been already given. In the beginning of May, Lord **INCHQUIN** drew his forces out of the garrisons, where they were on the point of starving, to see if he could get subsistence for them in the field. Fourteen hundred were sent into the county of Kerry, where they subsisted very well, and made great preys of cattle. **SR. C. VAVASOUR** was sent with a like number into the county of Waterford ; whilst Lord **INCHQUIN** himself in order to divert the enemy from attacking those detachments, made a feint of besieging Killmallock, a place of great consequence in the county of Limerick. **SR. CHARLES**, disdaining to act with his army the party on ly of freebooters, attacked, and took several castles. From the last which surrendered, the garrison were sent away under a convoy ; but by the disorderliness of the unpaid soldiery, they were almost all of them plundered, or murdered on the way. The quarter that had been given being thus wickedly violated, **SR. CHARLES** resolved to hang the officer who commanded the party : but he was attacked in his march by Lord **CASTLEHAVEN**, in the middle of June, with two hundred and fifty horse, almost half of them Gentlemen ; who charged the English in a plain with so much resolution, and being favoured by the rain, that their horse fled on the first attack, and breaking in upon the foot, the whole body was routed, six hundred men were killed on the spot, **SR. CHARLES**, and many other Officers made prisoners, and their cannon baggage, and seven hundred arms were taken. This was the

CHARLES I. the greatest defeat the English had sustained during the war, and the first time their horse had ever fled ; to whose cowardice, and not to any want of conduct in the commander, the defeat was owing : but it was a great discouragement to the army in that province, that were before discouraged enough by the wants they were reduced to, and by the utter neglect of the English Parliament.

A. 1643.

The Scotch forces in Ulster, had done nothing becoming an army for several months : but in May, General **MONROE** thought proper to stir, and with great secrecy, and expedition, marched into the county of Ardmagh ; in order to surprize **O NEIL** in his quarters. **O NEIL** himself was the first that discovered them, as he was hunting, at two miles distance ; and retiring immediately to his forces, which were not above four hundred, after an hour's dispute with **MONROE**'s army, in a lane inclosed with hedges, leading to Charlemont, very dexterously made his retreat thither without any loss. The Scotch General seized the passes about that fortress, with an intention to make what prey he could in the country ; but one of his parties being defeated the next day, with the loss of a prey they had taken, he returned with all his forces into Antrim. On his return thither, Lord **MONTGOMERY**, and Colonel **CHICHESTER**, with two thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horse, made another irruption into Ardmagh ; and being joined by Lord **MOORE** from Dundalk, whose garrison was almost starving, they wasted all that county ; and ranging over Monaghan, and Cavan, without seeing an enemy for three weeks together, they took considerable preys of cattle. **O NEIL**, knowing they could not undertake a siege, resolved to avoid, rather than to oppose them : and driving all the cattle away that he could, and escorting the women and children towards the county of Leitrim, he retreated thither with his forces till he could get an army together sufficient to face the enemy. But in his march, he was attacked by **SR. R. STEWART** on the borders of Fermanagh, with about four thousand men. The encounter of the horse was extremely fierce for some time ; in which **O NEIL** himself was in great danger : nor was that of the foot less hot for half an hour, till the second division of the English could come to engage ; and then the Irish retired in great disorder, both horse and foot running away. Good execution was done in the pursuit for several miles : and the

the rebels suffered a greater loss in this action, than they had ever done before in Ulster; most of their arms being taken, and the greatest part of the foreign Officers, who came over with O NEIL, being killed or taken prisoners. But though the loss on the side of the English was very inconsiderable, yet SR. R. STEWART was in no condition to do any thing more, than to make preys of cattle, to waste the country, and return to his quarters. O NEIL, after his defeat, retreated to Charlemont, but in a few days pursued his intended march into Leitrim; where he recruited his forces, and received such a supply of arms and ammunition from the Supreme Council, as enabled him in a short time to appear as strong in the field as ever.

CHARLES I.

A. 1643.

We left the rebels in Conaught, in possession of all the towns and castles in that province, except two of Lord CLANRICARDE's, and the castles in the county of Roscommon. Soon after Midsummer, having got PRESTON's engineer, and the canon of the fort of Galway, they laid siege to Castle-Coote, commanded by SR. CHARLES's brother, which their General BOURKE expected would be an easy conquest. But he was entirely disappointed, notwithstanding he attacked it with a numerous army, and with great skill, and courage. The garrison in the castle defended themselves with the utmost bravery, and resolution; and being well supported by the neighbouring garrisons, they repulsed the rebels several times, with great advantage, till the treaty of cessation put an end to the dispute. Having taken this view of the provinces till the time of harvest, we must return again to Dublin; the centre of all public business relating to the rebellion.

The new Ministry were very sensible of the distressed condition of the whole kingdom: and though they had applied again in the middle of May, to the English Parliament for relief, yet fearing they might be as unsuccessful as they had been before, they sent SR. THO. WHARTON, a man very acceptable to them, to solicit them more powerfully than they could do by letter. That I may finish his embassy at once, though out of time, I must inform the reader, that after a continual application for twenty weeks, the whole relief that he could procure, was a small supply of provisions; and all the promises he could obtain in future, was a thousand pounds in money.

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CHARLES I. As soon as **SR. THOMAS** was sent away from Dublin, no great hopes having been formed of speedy succour from
- A. 1643. England, the Council endeavoured to provide as well as they could for themselves. To this end they published a proclamation to restore the confidence of the Merchants; who, by having had their goods seized by force without payment, had been discouraged from any traffick; assuring them on the word of the State, that they should receive ready money for all the provisions and ammunition they should bring to Dublin. But, in order to raise the money to fulfil this contract, they were obliged to have recourse to an expedient, not known in these dominions till the English Parliament had then set it on foot, to carry on their war against the King; which was an **EXCISE**.

One cannot mention this subject without being put in mind of the great dissensions it hath occasioned here, and stopping a little to consider it. Abundance of pains hath been taken to enflame the passions, and to impose on the understandings of the people of England upon this method of taxation; and a man must be wholly regardless of popular clamour, that shall dare to avow his approbation of it in this country, where it is said to be inconsistent with our Liberty. But a wise man will never suffer his understanding to be run away with by the sound of words: we have lived to see the time, when this word **LIBERTY** is most egregiously and scandalously abused: and if we go on at the rate we have done for some time past, it doth not require a great deal of sagacity to foresee, that our Liberty will prove our Ruin. Every good Englishman is a great friend to just and honest Liberty; but there are bounds to be observed, beyond which it becomes Licentiousness. All Government is more or less a restraint upon Liberty; but unless we recur to a state of Nature, that restraint must be submitted to. No Government can be supported without expence; and whosoever receives the benefit and protection of Government, should, according to that benefit, and his own ability, contribute to such expence. The more equal the taxation to it is, the more reasonable it becomes; and in this sense no taxation is preferable, none is so eligible as an Excise. For if all, or the greatest part, however, of our Customs were converted into Excises, there is no doubt but it would be beneficial in general to our commerce, as well as less inconvenient and expensive to the Merchant. There is no reason there-

therefore why we should be frightened, by the word EX-CISE, from changing the method of raising the taxes we now pay, for one which is more convenient to the trading part of the nation. It is the very method by which most of the taxes are raised in Holland, where trade is understood as well, if not better, than in any country in Europe, and where I presume it will be allowed that the people are as jealous of their liberties as any people ought to be. But our misfortune is, that every individual here, in every rank of life, would make all things center in themselves; and yet no individual can be happy abstracted from the general good of the whole nation. To think otherwise than this, is one of the greatest deceptions imaginable: and yet it is this narrow selfish mode of thinking, that in the end, if it is persevered in, will make us a wretched people. An Excise is only a word for a tax raised in a particular manner: and if it doth not give liberty to an English subject to plunder and defraud the publick of its revenue, hath an honest man any room to complain of this restraint upon English Liberty?

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When so much noise hath been made against it in this country, it may be thought madness in any one perhaps to assert this doctrine: but the madness lies in those who are misled by words, without soberly stopping to consider their sense, or the intention of those who make a bustle with them: and in this respect we have seen our countrymen made very mad, with the words CHURCH, EXCISE, MILITIA, and even PATRIOT. But though the writer of this history is no enemy to an Excise, yet he is so true a friend to Liberty as to disapprove of the mode of regulation of it now in use; in which alone it appears to be inconsistent with the proper freedom of an English subject: and in order to reconcile the reader to this measure, or at least to engage his candour, the following is an alteration of it, which is submitted to his consideration. Let the commission of appeals be quite abolished; and let all disputes about Excise, within the bills of mortality, be settled as small debts are, by the Courts of Conscience, with an appeal to three of the Judges, one from each Court, in a summary way without expence; and from the Justices in the country, where there are no such Courts, to the Judge of Assize. An Excise under this regulation, it must be owned, is no greater restraint upon English liberty, than in the circumstances we are in should be submitted to without repining: and the fault would

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then only be, in excising the necessities, and not confining it to the luxuries of life. The great importance of the subject, it is to be hoped, will warrant this digression; and I shall now return to the history.

Had this method of raising money for the occasions of the State in Ireland been more unjustifiable than it was, yet the necessity was so extreme, that all law, and order, was obliged to be overruled, in other cases, as well as this. The worst of it was, that tho' the duty was so high, as to amount to half the value of the commodity, yet thro' the poverty of the city of Dublin, where it was set on foot, and where trade had been so much ruined, the money raised by it was inconsiderable, and the wants of the army were still pressing. In a short time after the turning out of SR. W. PARSONS, one day at a full Council, when sixteen Members were present, SR. F. BUTLER, and Major WARREN, brought an accusation against him of high crimes and misdemeanors; and requested that he might be secluded, and his papers, and goods secured. A great debate arose upon this application: some of the Council were for securing his person, of which number was his former colleague, one only for seizing his goods, others for taking sureties of him; but the majority inclined to give him his liberty, without any security; and his papers were left untouched. It hath been observed that Lord ORMONDE had received a commission from the King, to treat of a cessation with the rebels. After observing the great extremities, to which the army, and his good subjects in Ireland were reduced, thro' the neglect of the two Houses of Parliament here, the King informs him, that he had resumed the care of them again to himself; and therefore commands him, with all secrecy and expedition, to treat with those that had taken up arms, and to agree with them for a cessation; leaving the terms of such treaty entirely to his Lordship: his Majesty not being well informed—as he said—of the true state of his own, or their army, or of the condition of the country, or any other thing whereon to fix a judgment. In a letter from the King himself to the Marquis, which accompanied this commission, his Majesty desired him earnestly to execute this command; and, as soon as that is done, to bring over the Irish army to Chester.

If a commission for such a treaty only had been sent, without the King's acknowledgment of his ignorance of
the

the state of things, and without any order for the army there to be sent to England, it might have been supposed to take its rise only from the ill condition of affairs there, which made it absolutely necessary. But this the reader fees was not the case; and one of the King's motives was evidently to have the assistance of that army, in order to strengthen himself here against the Parliament. Whether the King was more blameable in this respect than the Parliament, who had made use of the money, and the troops raised for Ireland, to carry on the war against the King, shall be left to the reader's determination. Notwithstanding Lord ORMONDE had received the commission, and the letter above mentioned, yet he thought it an indignity to the King, that the first overture for a cessation should come from him. Lord TAAFE, a Roman Catholick, who had been in the army here a volunteer, was sent over by his Majesty at this time, in order to induce the rebels to accept of reasonable conditions. To him therefore Lord ORMONDE granted a pass to the General Assembly, then about to meet at Kilkenny, and joined with him in it Colonel J. BARRY; a Catholick also, but an intimate friend of the Marquis's, who had served under him in all his expeditions, was a man of very good understanding, and much beloved by all who knew him.

The rebels could not, consistently with their former measures, refuse to move for a cessation; but yet this negotiation met with many difficulties. There were so many people concerned, and these had so many different views, and sentiments, many of them incapable of judging of their true interest, others full of distrust and seeing no further than the outside of things, and all of them too much influenced by ambitious covetous ecclesiasticks, that it was not without many interruptions and long debates, that it was carried to agree to a treaty, for a cessation with Lord ORMONDE. As soon as the Marquis knew this, he sent to Colonel BARRY to inform the Assembly, that in order for him to consent to a treaty, it must be settled as a preliminary, that they should contribute a proportion to the supply of the royal army; since by their disturbance his Majesty had been deprived of his subsidies, and revenue, which would have supported it. This was a condition so necessary to the subsistence of the forces during a cessation, that if the Assembly rejected it, he ordered the Colonel to leave the place, and

CHARLES I. return to Dublin. This preliminary occasioned many other debates : but at last the general condition was agreed to, leaving the particular sum to be settled between the Marquis and their agents ; to whom they gave a commission with full powers, about the middle of June.

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The Marquis, who had communicated this business from the first to SR. H. TITCHBORN, and his friends in the Council, when he found the rebels had agreed to a treaty, acquainted the whole board with his commission. Those amongst them who had been attached to the republican party in England, expressed their dislike of it : but none of them had offered to suggest a method of subsisting the army, and carrying on the war : and as the Marquis, who was extremely jealous of his honour, was determined that his conduct in so nice and important a point should be clear of all reproach, he delivered in writing at the Council board a motion to the following effect, “ that if any of the Members were of opinion a cessation was either dishonourable to the King, unsafe to the Protestants, or dangerous to his Majesty’s armies, that they would signify as much by their letters to him, and propose some other more certain, honourable, and available way, for the preservation of the kingdom, the safety of the Protestants, and the subsistence of the armies ; in which case he undertook to proceed no farther in the cessation, but would immediately, at his own peril, break off the treaty.” His Lordship desired this motion might be entered in the Council books ; the order for which was signed by PARSONS, and the others that were averse to the cessation. But the Marquis, fearing this was not sufficient to silence the clamour that he foresaw would be made about it, the next day made another motion ; “ that if ten thousand pounds could be raised, the one half in money, and the other in victuals, to be brought in within a fortnight, he would in that case proceed in the war, endeavour to take Wexford, and do nothing in the intended treaty for a cessation.” Upon this the Lord Mayor, and the most substantial citizens of Dublin, were summoned to attend ; who being examined about such a supply, it was found to be impossible to procure it. This motion was also entered in the books, and signed by a full board : and as neither of these motions had produced any effect, nor any other method was proposed of subsisting the army, and saving the kingdom from desolation, the

the Marquis set out the next morning, to meet the Irish agents at Castle-Martin in the county of Kildare; accompanied by some of the Council, and the chief officers in the army, to assist him in the treaty. We will also take our leave of Dublin for the present; and cast an eye upon England, for the transactions that were carrying on there, relating to the war in Ireland.

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These transactions have been traced to the close of the last year; and the first thing that we meet with in this, was the commission sent by the King to conclude the cessation above mentioned. If Lord CLARENDON hath represented this affair in a light too favourable on the side of the King, which he certainly hath, by ascribing it to the negotiations of the Parliament with the Scots, and their resolution to levy an army for the assistance of the two houses—which negotiations were not till long after—it is as certain that RAPIN, who hath criticised upon this, is not free from censure. For tho' it is true, that one design of the King in making a truce with the Irish rebels, was to employ the English forces in that kingdom against the Parliament here, yet it doth not appear that this was his only design; nor is it true—what this Historian hath added—"that in order to avoid the reproach which might be cast on him for making this truce, he resolved to manage so, as that it should appear to be done by the Lords Justices, and the rest of the Council. The design was not so much as communicated to the Marquis of ORMONDE, till the commission was sent to him to conclude such a treaty; and tho' the King wrote a letter of the same date with it to the Lords Justices, it was only to acquaint them, that he had sent such a commission to his Lordship, and to order them to give their most effectual assistance to advance the cessation.

In a few days after the King had sent this commission, he received a letter from the Irish Ministry, which he sent to the two Houses; at which they were not a little discomposed. For in this letter the Justices inform his Majesty, "that his army there were in unspeakable extremities of want of all things necessary, for the support of their persons, or maintenance of the war; and that there were no visible means, by sea or land, of their being able to preserve that kingdom, and to deliver his good subjects there from utter destruction. Notwithstanding

CHARLES I. ing their repeated advertisements sent into England of their distreis, they had received no supplies of money from the English Parliament for six months, nor any other provisions than a mean inconsiderable quantity, sufficient only for the army in and about Dublin for eight days." The Parliament thought it necessary to do something, in order to wipe off the just reproaches which were cast upon them in this letter: and having appointed a committee to think of ways to raise money for Ireland—as they had made use of the adventurers money for their own purposes—they resolved it should be raised by voluntary contributions.

Either the Parliament themselves, or the Publick, not being thoroughly satisfied with the legality of their ordinances, they had sent a bill to the King, entitled "an act for the speedy payment of moneys, subscribed towards reducing the rebels in Ireland, which yet remained unpaid." To this his Majesty answered, "that though he might well deny to consent to any new act of Parliament, when the Majority of both Houses were driven away by violence, and He himself not suffered to be present, yet such was his compassion of soul towards his poor Protestant subjects of that kingdom, he would gladly entertain any expedient, whereby the condition of it might be relieved, and the distractions of this in no danger to be increased. He desired therefore to know first, how the vast sums of money, already raised for the relief of Ireland, and which ought not to be employed to any other purpose, had been expended. He desired further to be made sure, that the money, which, by his consent to this act, was to be raised for the support of the army there, should not be diverted to any other purpose." Some observations were also made on several clauses of this bill; "and if the two Houses would give his Majesty satisfaction in all those particulars, then all the world, he said, should know, how sensible he was of the misery of Ireland, and how desirous to embrace any way for its relief." The two Houses, not being able to give the King the satisfaction he desired, consistently with their own intentions of misapplying this money, were caught in the snare they had laid for his Majesty; and their giving no answer at all, to demands so reasonable, brought that discredit upon the Parliament, which they meant to throw upon the King, if he refused to pass the act.

Finding

Finding this scheme defeated, they published a declaration, setting forth “ their compassionate sense of the miseries of the army, and their Protestant brethren in Ireland, and recommending their relief by way of adventure, loan, or weekly contribution, in such manner as they should approve ; of which both Houses intended to shew a good example.” But this declaration being without effect, in a month after, they issued an ordinance for the encouragement of adventurers to make new subscriptions, for towns, cities, and lands in Ireland. In ten days after—the twenty fifth of July—they published another declaration, “ concerning the rise and progress of the grand rebellion in Ireland, with several examinations of persons of quality, and other passages of consequence ;” and this declaration was ordered to be read in the several churches and chapels, on the next fast day after it was received. When the reader knows that that paper takes up above twenty pages in close print in folio of HUSBAND’s collections, he will not be surprised that it is not recited here. It is astonishing to posterity, to what a length of malice, and want of candour, the disease of those times did lead men. Nothing less than this surely could induce so great a body of men, to publish such a tedious narrative ; wherein many things were greatly exaggerated, others absolutely false, and a good deal of what was strictly true very little to the purpose. But the chief managers and conductors of the counsels of the Parliament—says Lord CLARENDON—“ found it necessary to aver many things of fact upon their own knowledge, by which they saw the understanding of men liable to be captivated, which in truth were not so ; as he himself found by some sober men, at such times as there was occasion of intercourse with them, that they did upon such assurance believe the King had done somewhat in that business of Ireland—some having avowed that they had seen his hand to such and such letters and instructions—which, upon as much knowledge as any man can morally have of a negative, his Lordship was sure the King never did.” Nevertheless there were some facts relating to the Papists in this declaration, to which the King made no reply : too true to be denied, and too reprehensible to be excused. Nothing more having passed in England this summer, concerning the
Irish

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RUSHWORT.

CHARLES I. Irish war, we must now return to Dublin, in order to give an account of the Marquis of ORMONDE's proceedings in the treaty with the rebels for a cessation.

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The King, in his commission to him, had ordered it to be managed with all secrecy; but it was one of the common circumstances attending the councils of this Monarch—uncommon to every other—that nothing was kept a secret in them; and Lord ORMONDE wrote him word, “that by the time his Majesty's letters about it reached him, the city of Dublin was full of that business, and it was the common discourse of every one.” It required all his Lordship's good management to prevent very disagreeable consequences, in the Council, and the army, from this imprudence or treachery of his Majesty's Court. On the twenty third of June, the Commissioners from the rebels presented themselves to the Marquis, in his tent near Castle-Martin, having some of the Council and several officers of the army with him; his Lordship sitting in his chair covered, and the Irish commissioners standing bare headed before him. They delivered their propositions in writing; and the Marquis pressed to know, what supply they would give to his Majesty for the maintenance of his army: but they absolutely refused to treat of that particular, till the cessation was agreed upon. His Lordship took three or four days to consider of their propositions; and then returned them an answer. To some of these he consented with restrictions, to others he declined giving any answer at that time, and the rest he flatly refused. As this treaty was ineffectual, it doth not seem necessary to trouble the reader with these particulars. The Commissioners, two days after receiving his Lordship's answer, pretending that it required a serious consideration, desired the meeting might be adjourned for a fortnight; when they would wait upon him, and endeavour to bring the treaty to a conclusion. When that day came, they made no reply to the alterations the Marquis had made in their propositions; but though his demand of a supply was not warranted by the King's letters, and so no answer, they said, was necessary, “yet to shew their duty and affections, on the conclusion of the cessation they would grant such a supply as should be then agreed on.”

The Marquis being extremely dissatisfied with this answer, resolved to break off the treaty, and try the fate of a battle, if he could, with PRESTON. Accordingly the

next

next day, he wrote to Lord GORMANSTON, "that the necessity of his attendance otherwise on the public service, did not permit his meeting with them at that time; but as soon as the occasion was over, he would appoint another day to proceed on the treaty, of which they should have timely notice." The truth was, the rebels were so elated with the prosperous situation of their affairs, upon finding themselves in a condition to secure the harvest, that they thought of starving the Protestants into their own terms; and with this view, PRESTON was marched into the King's county with a great army, and O NEIL was advanced into West-Meath. The Commissioners took upon them to resent this delay of the treaty, and to demand what the service was that occasioned it; arrogantly-threatening to add it to their other grievances. The Marquis replied, "that he was not to acquaint them with any of the King's services, being accountable for them only to his Majesty and the State, to whom he doubted not he should acquit himself as became him; that however they might guess at one of the reasons of his delay, when they knew that PRESTON had had the boldness to advance with his army so near the place of meeting; and that when the occasions of the King's service were over, he would appoint another time to resume the treaty." As soon as Lord ORMONDE returned to Dublin, he did all that he could to procure provisions, in order to enable the army to march. MONCK was prevailed upon, with great difficulty, to command the party against PRESTON; who lay with seven thousand foot, and seven hundred horse, within two miles of Castle-Jordan. MONCK, having only two thousand foot, and half the number of the rebels horse, finding no cattle in the field, and wanting supplies of bread and shoes, returned to Dublin in ten days; without giving the enemy any disturbance in his conquest of that county. Upon this, the Marquis summoning all the forces he could raise, and making up a body of five thousand, in a few days after, marched at the head of them himself, and soon retook some of the castles that PRESTON had got possession of. But as that General still retired before him, and would not hazard a battle, and the royal army was ready to starve for want of provisions, about the latter end of July, the Marquis brought it back again to Dublin; convinced by this experiment, that there was no other way to preserve the forces, and the Protestant subjects, but by a cessation.

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On the first of August, the Lords Justices received an order from the King, to secure the persons of SR. W. PARSONS, SR. J. TEMPLE, SR. AD. LOFTUS, and SR. R. MEREDITH, on an accusation brought against them in England, by the Lords DILLON, and WILMOT, SR. FA. FORTESCUE, and BRIAN and D. O NEIL. Another order came also to issue out a commission, empowering the Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of ORMONDE, the Earl of ROSCOMMON, and SR. MAU. EUSTACE, to examine into the articles of accusation, and to make a report of them to the King. Besides the business of JEROME, and of the Parliament commissioners already mentioned, it was charged upon them all in general, that they had abused his Majesty's trust in their several offices and employments; that they had endeavoured to draw the army from his obedience, and to side with the English Parliament, which they by all means countenanced and upheld against him; that they had taken and published scandalous examinations, with intent to asperse the King as authorising the rebellion; and had at several times uttered dishonourable speeches about him. Against PARSONS in particular it was objected, that he had often repeated the report, with an appearance of great pleasure, that his Majesty was killed at the battle of Edge-hill: against LOFTUS, that he had defrauded the army of their pay by changing the coin: and against TEMPLE, that he had written two scandalous letters to the Parliament commissioners, which had been made use of in England to asperse the King. It was urged further against them all, that they had committed a man to the castle, and imprisoned him several weeks, for saying only that the Earl of ESSEX was a traitor, and justifying his words by the King's proclamation. Other matter than was contained in this accusation, or than hath yet appeared in this history, was to be found against them then at Dublin. The commissioners, who had been appointed to enquire into the grievances of the army, made a report against the custodium of the mills of Kilmainham by SR. J. TEMPLE; who had made a prodigious gain by the toll of all the corn that was ground there for the forces, in and about Dublin, to the very great prejudice of that army. In several letters to England, intercepted at that time, both he and PARSONS inveighed against the cessation, with many unbecoming reflections upon the Council, and false representations

sentations of the state of Ireland. These might serve to CHARLES I.
 prejudice the English, who knew no better, and to furnish
 the Parliament with pretences to declare against an event
 which affected their private system; and with this view
 no doubt they were all written. But whatever was the
 demerit of these men, when the examinations were sent
 into England, taken by virtue of the commission above
 mentioned, the King's learned Counsel in the law were of
 opinion, that though the proofs were very sufficient to con-
 vict them of high misdemeanors, yet not of capital crimes;
 and therefore an order was received to admit them to bail.

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Whilst these examinations were carrying on, the
 Justices received a warrant from the King, to issue out a
 commission under the great seal of Ireland, in order to
 authorize the Marquis of ORMONDE to treat and con-
 clude a cessation of arms, for one year, upon such arti-
 cles as he should judge necessary, or otherwise to break
 off such treaty: and in case it were already concluded,
 to pass letters patents for the confirmation of it, and for
 justifying and indemnifying the Marquis, and all other
 persons attending and assisting in it, from all manner of
 trouble, vexation, or damage on that account. In obedi-
 ence to this order, notice was sent to the Commissioners
 of the rebels, to meet the Marquis of ORMONDE, on the
 seventeenth of August, at Sigginstown near Naas, to renew,
 the treaty. But Lord GORMANSTON dying a few days
 before, Lord MUSKERY being in Munster, and only three
 of the Commissioners remaining at Kilkenny, the meeting
 was desired to be put off to the end of the month, that
 they might be all together. This was a very inconvenient
 delay, on account of the distress of the King's forces, particu-
 larly of those under Lord INCHQUIN; who pressed the
 Marquis to hasten the meeting, "which he durst undertake,
 would conduce to the preservation of a part of the kingdom,
 if not the whole: so that if the Marquis did not know some
 reason of more weight than the loss of the army in Munster,
 and the province depending on it, he desired his advice to be
 followed." Wherefore the Council sent him authority, to
 conclude a particular cessation, till the general one could
 be settled; to which Lord MUSKERY, and the other rebel
 Officers there, agreed.

But new difficulties were now arisen in the way of the
 treaty. Lord CASTLEHAVEN had taken several castles
 in the county of Carlow, and the Queen's county;
 PRESTON was advanced into Meath, and O NEIL into
 West.

CHARLES I. West-meath; both employed in getting in the harvest. Lord MOORE was sent against the former, but could
 A. 1743. neither subsist his army, nor secure the harvest for want of ammunition. The soldiers were in all places ready to mutiny; and so disorderly through defect of pay, that the country people, who used to live under their protection, fled away for fear of being ill treated. The garrisons of Drogheda, Dundalk, and the neighbouring castles, were ready to be deserted through want; O NEIL having carried away all the corn of the countries intended for their subsistence. The State had not strength to oppose such a numerous army, which could easily too be joined by PRESTON. They sent into Ulster to MONROE for his assistance; but he denied to march himself, or to send them any succour. This obliged them to recal MONCK from Wicklow, with intent that he should go with Lord MOORE to oppose O NEIL. In a vain attack against one of his parties, his Lordship was killed by a cannon ball; and the army the next day, for want of bread, returned to Dublin. During their absence, PRESTON made incursions within two miles of the city; and Lord CASTLEHAVEN took the places which MONCK had quitted, and reduced all the castles between the Barrow and the Liffy.

These advantages however, on the side of the rebels, were not the only difficulties which stood in the way of the cessation. About the middle of July, Father SCARAMP, a Minister from the Pope, arrived with large supplies of money, and ammunition, at Kilkenny. With these he brought letters from his Holiness, to the Generals of the provinces, the Supreme Council, and the Prelates; and what was more valuable than these, a bull in which he granted a general jubilee, and an absolution to all, who were concerned in that insurrection for religion, of all crimes, and sins, how enormous or damnable soever. There are copies of all those letters, and of the Pope's Bull, in the Memoirs of RINUCCINI, his Holiness's Nuncio afterwards in Ireland, mentioned in the Preface: but there is nothing curious or material enough in them to deserve a place. They are such as the reader may easily enough imagine from a Pope of Rome upon such a subject: and the Bull is in the usual form of all absolutions of that nature.—Strange that men of sense can suffer their understandings to be so far captivated, as to believe that it is in the power of any man, or of any number of men what-
 ever

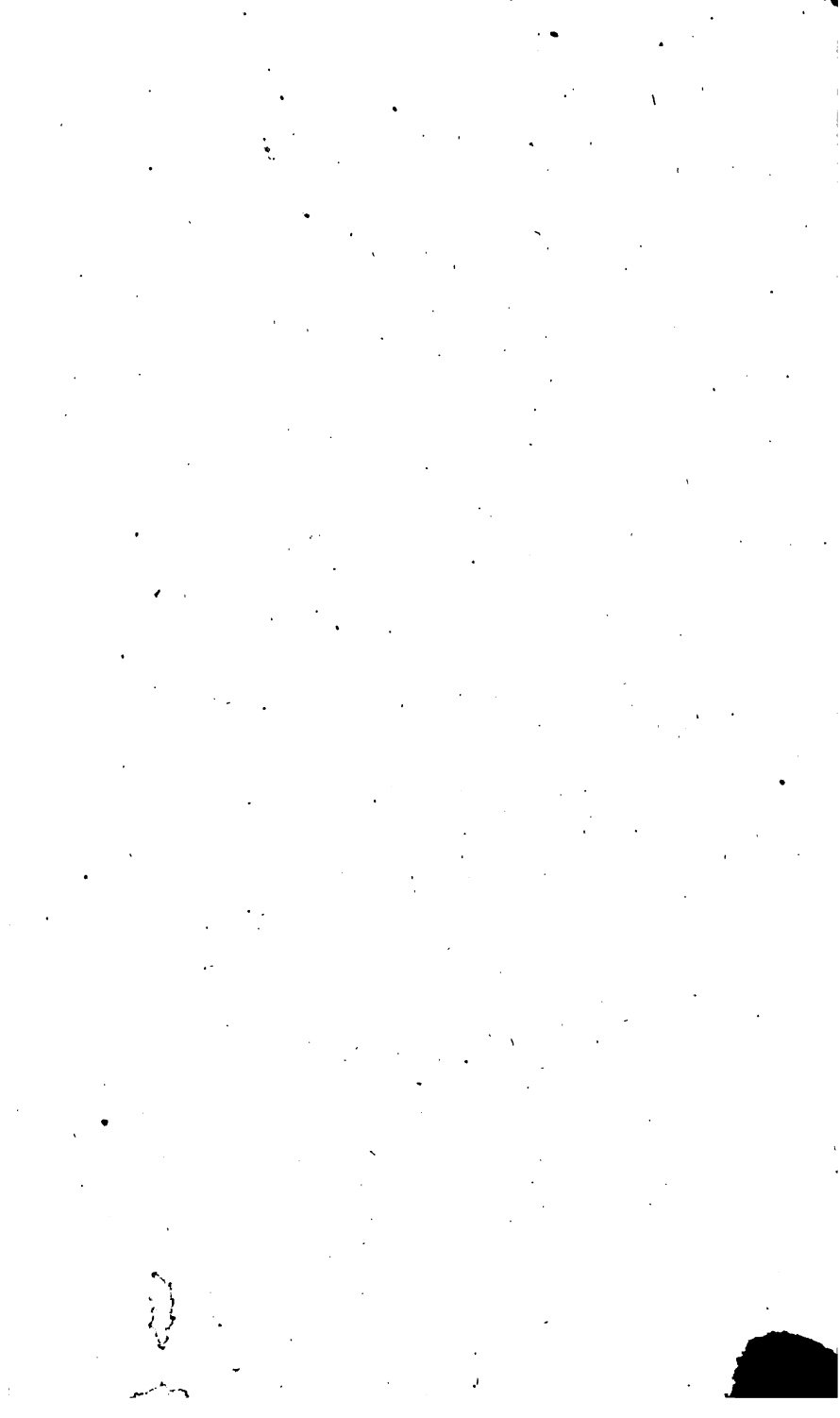
ever, to turn guilt into innocence with a word, and to CHARLES I.
 put the sinner and the saint upon an equal level!—The coming of this Minister gave new life to the opposition of the clergy, and old Irish, to the cessation; of which he assured them the Court of Rome would not approve, without the free and splendid exercise of their religion, and the confinement of all places of trust, and power, to the Catholics. This party insisted strongly on the great distresses of the English, the flourishing condition of their own affairs, their prospect of greater successes, and of the assistance of foreign princes which would be lost by a cessation: They remonstrated against giving the King any supply, that should maintain an army which would be employed against them; and moved that the treaty might be deferred, at least till the Pope had been consulted, and given his direction in it. These were the sentiments of men bigotted to the catholic religion, or who had nothing to get, but a great deal to lose, by a peace with the King. But the men of sense and moderation, who saw the plain absurdity of standing out against the King, after so many protestations of loyalty, and that they could no longer subsist than whilst his difference lasted with the Parliament, they considered that an accommodation was necessary, in order to wipe off the calumny raised against them, and that the supply would be compensated by saving the country from the ravages of war: and by the joint endeavours of the Lords CLANRICARDE, CASTLEHAVEN, MUSKERY, TAAFE, and other leading men, who had possessions and estates to lose, and nothing to get, by the rebellion, they carried it to renew the treaty for a cessation, in hopes it would produce a peace. But on this occasion the ancient animosities were revived, between the old English, who were for maintaining the English government, and the native Irish, who joined with the Clergy in opposing any accommodation, but such as would leave them masters of the kingdom.

On the twenty-sixth of August, the Commissioners met the Marquis of ORMONDE, and the Council, and Officers whom he had associated with him. His Lordship founded the Catholics upon a temporary cessation during the treaty, to which they were not inclined: but more time being taken up in disputes about quarters than they expected, they proposed a particular cessation for the provinces of Leinster, which was rejected; and that refusal enabled

CHARLES I. enabled them to extend their quarters in it very considerably, to the great annoyance of the protestant subjects. The articles of cessation, and limitation of quarters, are too long, and immaterial, to be inserted here: the supply they granted to the King was thirty thousand pounds, to be paid half in money, and half in beeves, in five several payments, before the end of May; and eight hundred pounds, within two months after the cessation, in lieu of corn due to some English garrisons. When all the articles were settled, the Marquis laid them before such of the Council and General Officers as were with him: and they "considering the insupportable wants and miseries of the army, the great distress of many of his Majesty's principal forts, the imminent danger of the whole kingdom, and the impossibility of prosecuting the war without such large supplies of which they had no hope, did for those reasons conceive it necessary for his Majesty's honour and service, that the cessation should be agreed to upon the articles then drawn up and perfected." This opinion being subscribed by them, to the number of seventeen, the Marquis of ORMONDE, on the fifteenth of September, signed the instrument of cessation with the Catholic Commissioners; which, being ratified by the Lords Justices and Council, was notified by a public proclamation in every part of the kingdom. A respite being thus given to all hostilities for a twelvemonth, it will be proper to relieve the reader by putting a period to this book.

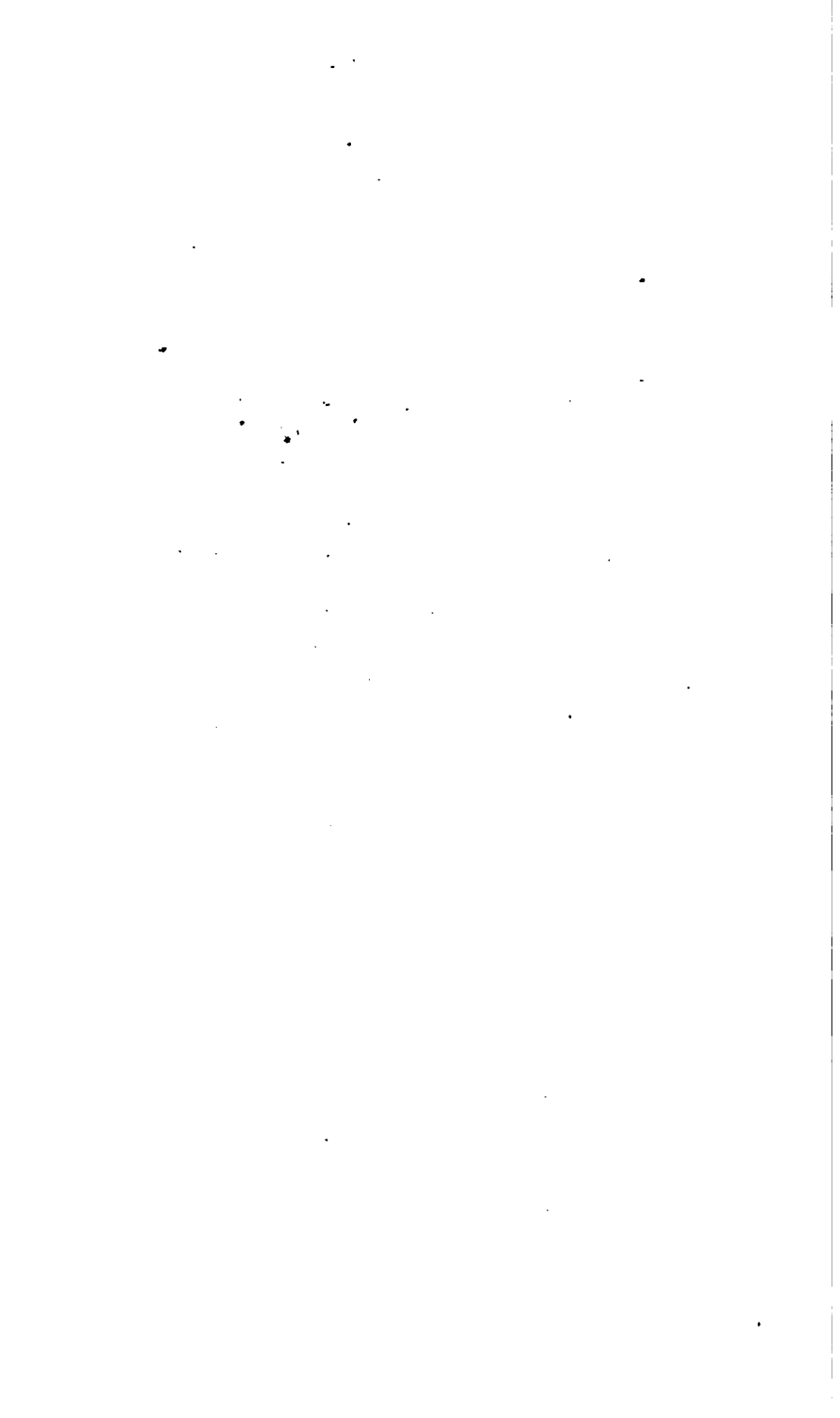
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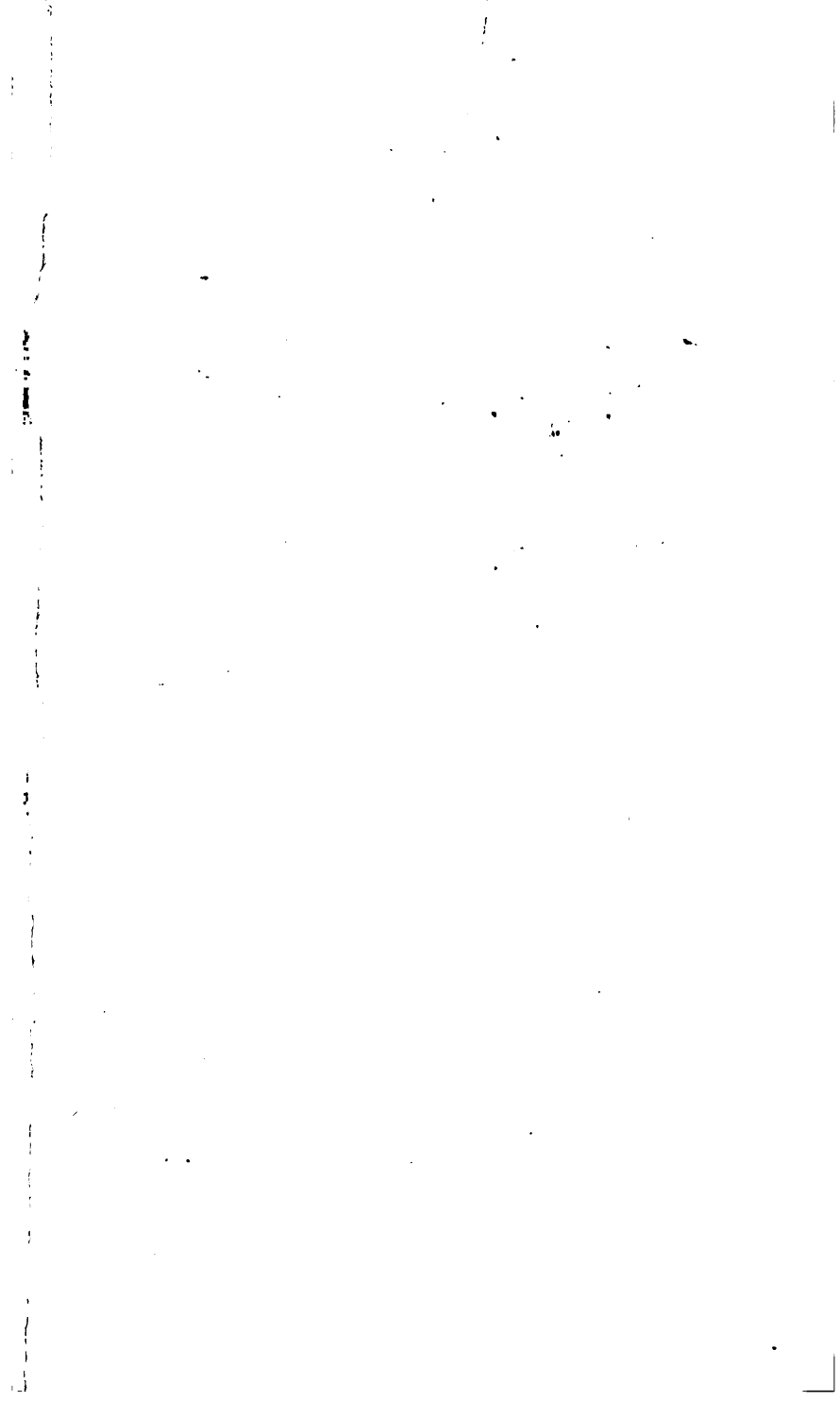
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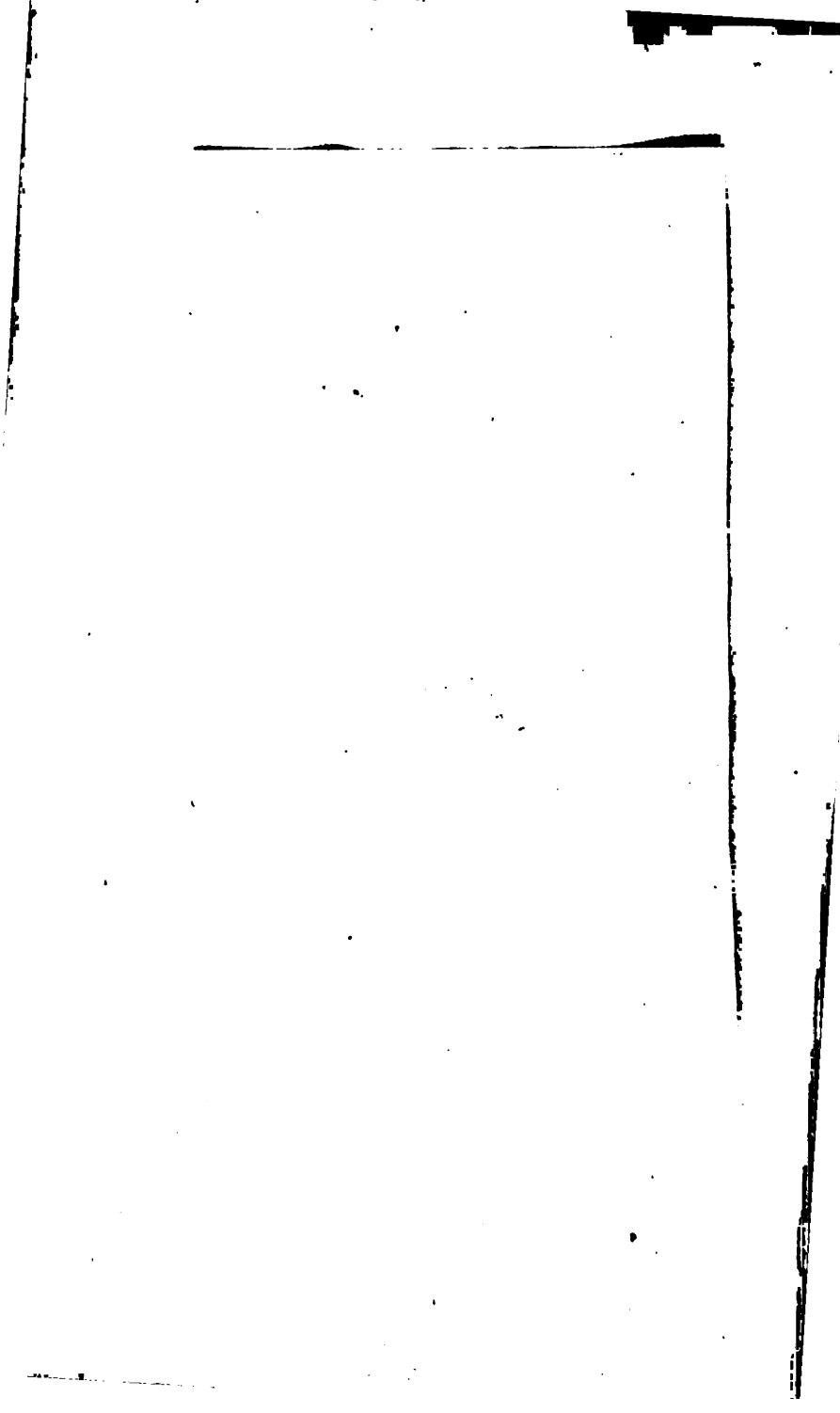


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